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The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir

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INTRODUCTION

The great majority of the surviving exegetical works on the scriptures of the Śaiva Mantramārga was produced by Kashmirian brahmins towards the end of the early medieval period, principally in the course of the tenth century and the early decades of the eleventh. Among these authors there were two distinct groups in line with the division within the scriptural corpus of the Mantramārga between purely Śaiva scriptures known collectively as the Siddhānta or Śaivasiddhānta and dedicated to the propitiation of Śiva and those of a more Śākta or completely Śākta character dedicated to the propitiation of Bhairava or the Goddess. One group took the purely Śaiva scriptures to be the highest of Śiva's revelations and saw the others as secondary. The other, while recognizing that those texts were indeed the Mantramārga's fundamental authorities, considered its own scriptures to be the higher, believing that they had been revealed by Śiva for the benefit of an élite within the Śaiva community.

Both groups, Saiddhāntikas and non-Saiddhāntikas, held that Śaivas, at least those who were married householders rather than celibate ascetics, were simultaneously subject to brahmanical regulation in accordance with their status as members of castes within the brahmanical life-stages. This is prescribed in a passage of the lost scripture *Bhārgavottara* much cited by the Saiddhāntika exegetes:¹

So he should not transgress the practices of his caste-class and brahmanical discipline even in thought. He should remain in the discipline in which he was when he was initiated into the Śaiva religion and [at the same time] maintain the ordinances of Śiva.

¹ E.g. Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, *Mrgendravr̥tti*, *Vidyāpāda* p. 63, ll. 13–15; Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, *Mo-kṣakārikāvr̥tti* on 146ab: *iti varṇāśramācārān manasāpi na laṅghayet | yo yasminn āśrame tiṣṭhan dīkṣitaḥ śivaśāsane | sa tasminn eva samtiṣṭhec chivadharmaṃ ca pālayet.*

Non-Saiddhāntika adherence to the same view is seen in the following verse quoted without attribution by the Śākta Śaiva Jayaratha and the anti-Śaiva Aparāditya:²

Inwardly Śākta (*kaulaḥ*), outwardly Śaiva, and brahmanical in his mundane observance, he should hold on to what is essential like a coconut [protecting its juice inside its flesh and hard shell].

Thus they accepted a level of revelation that they shared with non-Śaivas (*sāmānyaśāstram*) as well as a level of revelation applicable to them alone (*viśeṣaśāstram*), with adherents of the Śākta-inclined and Śākta traditions adding a third level of more restricted recruitment within the second (*viśeṣataraśāstram*).

This model of a hierarchy of revelation imposing levels of obligation that are accumulated as one ascends from the more universally accessible to the less is most clearly articulated by the Śākta-inclined *Śīraccheda* (*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1) in an account which extends this model to the Indian religious systems in general. The base-line of binding revelation shared with the non-Śaivas is subdivided here into universal common (*sāmānyam*) and restricted common (*sāmānyaviśeṣam*). The former comprises the two Epics and the Purāṇas, since those are accessible and applicable to members of all four caste-categories (*varṇāḥ*), that is to say, to all including Śūdras³ —Śaiva initiation was accessible to the same social range—, and the latter comprises all brahmanical authorities open only to members of the three regenerable caste-categories (brahmin, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya), namely Śruti comprising the three Vedas in their various recensions and Smṛti comprising the Dharmaśāstras.⁴ The systems on the first level of narrower recruitment are set out as follows:

The Saura, Śaiva, and Pāñcarātra [scriptures], and [in the Śaiva Atimārga] the Lākula and Vaimala [scriptures], together with the Atharvaveda, [the texts of] Sāṃkhya and Yoga, and the scriptures of the Buddhists, Jains, and the like, are restricted teachings (*viśeṣatantram*), because a person adheres to [one of] them only after taking on specific vows [in addition to or, in the case of the Buddhists

² *Tantrāloka*viveka on 4.251ab; *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*ṭīkā on 1.7, vol. 1, p. 10: *antaḥ kaulo bahiḥ śaivo lokācāre tu vaidikaḥ | sāmam ādāya tiṣṭheta nārikelaphalam yathā*.

³ *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 166v1–2 (35.65–66b): *itihāsapurāṇāni gaṇitam kāvyanāṭakam | chandāmsi śabdasāstrāṇi sāmānyaviśeṣāṇi tu | sarveṣāṃ varṇikānām tu sāmānyaśra-vanād iha*.

⁴ *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 167r1 (35.77c–78b): *atha sāmānyavaiśeṣa(ṇ) sāmārgyajuṣaḥ priye | śākhācaraṇabhinnasya smṛtyantaragatasya tu*.

and Jains, as opposed to, the general obligations imposed by brahmanical authorities].⁵

The level of narrowest recruitment, from within systems on this level, is defined as follows:

The Bhairava (Dakṣiṇatantras [*dakṣiṇasrotah*]), the Guhyātantras (Vāmatantras [*vāmasrotah*]), the Gāruḍatantras (*pūrvasrotah*), the Bhūtatantras[, Mātṛtantras, Jyeṣṭhātantras] and [Caṇḍāsīdhāratāntras] (*paścimasrotah*), and[, for Buddhists, those of] the Vajrayāna, are yet more restricted (*viśeṣataram*), because only a person already bound by the vows of the [corresponding body of] restricted [scripture] can exercise authority in them.⁶

That the text's Śaiva scriptures on the first level of narrower recruitment are those of the Siddhānta is made clear later in this passage, when they are defined as the [ten] Śivabhedas and [eighteen] Rudrabhedas.⁷ For this is the standard definition of the Saiddhāntika canon,⁸ though in reality the scriptures existent or operative in our period are only some of these, mostly within the category of the Rudrabhedas. They are principally the *Kāmika* and the *Sāhasra* among the Śivabhedas, with the *Mrgendra*, which claims to be derived from the first, and among the Rudrabhedas and derivatives, the *Niśvāsa*, the *Pauṣkarapārameśvara*, the *Matāṅgapārameśvara*, the *Yakṣiṇīpārameśvara*, the *Hamsapārameśvara*, the *Mukuta*, the *Sūkṣmasvāyambhuva*, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Kālottara* in various recensions of differing length, the *Sarvajñānottara*, and the *Parākhya*. In addition there were specialized Saiddhāntika Tantras concerned only with matters pertaining to the

⁵Jayadrathayāmala, Śaṭka 1, f. 166v2–4 (35.68–69b): *sauram śaivam pañcarātram pramāṇam vaimalam matam | atharvam sāmkyayogam ca bauddham ārahatādikam | viśeṣākhyam yatas *iatra* (em. : *tantram* Cod.) *viśeṣasamayāt sthitiḥ*.

⁶Jayadrathayāmala, Śaṭka 1, f. 166v4 (35.69c–70): *bhairavam vajrayānam ca guhyātantram sagāruḍam | bhūtatantrāditantram ca viśeṣataram ucyaṭe | vaiśeṣike tu samayī yato 'traivādhikārakṛt*.

⁷Jayadrathayāmala, Śaṭka 1, f. 167r1–2 (35.78c–79b): *atha vaiśeṣaśāstrasya śaivasiddhāntarūpiṇaḥ | śivarudrabhedasaṃjñāḥ kramo vācya *vipaścītā* (corr. : *vipaścītāḥ* Cod.). Cf. Śaṭka 1, f. 4v2–4 (1.65–66) on the ten Śivabhedas beginning with the *Kāmika* and the [eighteen] Rudrabhedas beginning with the *Vijaya* and ending with the *Pārameśvara*: *kāmikādini yāny āsan daśa proktāni *śūlinā* (conj. : *śūlinām* Cod.) | *śivabhedagatāniha *śaive sarvārthadāni* (conj. : *śaiva saivārthadāni* Cod.) *tu | 66 vijayādini cānyāni *pārameśāntikāni* (em. : *paramesāntikāni* Cod.) *tu | rudrabhedaprabhinnāni bhedānantagatāni tu*.

⁸For canonical lists of these twenty-eight see GOODALL 1998, pp. 402–417.

installation of idols and the consecration of temples: the *Mayasamgraha*, the *Devayāmata*, the *Mohacūḍottara*, and the *Pratiṣṭhāpārameśvara*.

The more restricted level within the Śaiva canon is defined immediately after this as comprising the four and the fifteen Tantras of the four divisions (*bhedāḥ*) and three currents (*śrotāṃsi*).⁹ The four Tantras are identified as the primary scriptures (*mūlasūtrāṇi*) of the Bhairava-centred Mantrapīṭha; and the fifteen as the same of the Goddess-centred Vidyāpīṭha. Of the four divisions the first is defined as that of the four Mantrapīṭha texts. These are listed as the *Svacchandabhairava*, *Caṇḍabhairava*, *Krodhabhairava*, and *Unmattabhairava*.¹⁰ Of these only the first appears to have been current in the period of the commentators; and it is clear that this was considered to be the pre-eminent text of this class.¹¹ It survives in Kashmirian, Nepalese, and South Indian manuscripts,¹² influenced the development of the Saiddhāntika ritual system,¹³ and attracted learned exegesis.¹⁴

The other three divisions contain the fifteen Tantras of the Vidyāpīṭha canon,¹⁵ namely the seven Śaktitantras, the three Vāmatantras, and the five Yāmalatantras. The Śaktitantras are listed as the *Sarvavīrasamāyoga/Sarvavīra*,

⁹ *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 169r2 (35.79c–80b): *viśeṣataraśāstrasya catuḥpañca*daśasya tu* (em. [Aiśa]: *gatasya tu* Cod.) | *śrotastraya*nibaddhasya* (em. : *vibaddhasya* Cod.) *caturbheda-gatasya tu*.

¹⁰ *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 169r5 (36.12): (1) *svacchandabhairavam* (2) *caṇḍam* (3) *krodham* (4) *unmattabhairavam* | *granthāntarāṇi catvāri mantrapīṭhe sthitāni ca*. The same verse is cited from the *Sarvavīra* by Kṣemarāja on *Svacchanda* 1.4c–7.

¹¹ See footnote 511 on p. 387.

¹² The published edition is based on Kashmirian manuscripts. For the existence of Nepalese and South Indian manuscripts of this text see SANDERSON 2001, p. 21, footnote 26. The *Yonigahvara* claims to have been extracted from the *Caṇḍabhairava* (final colophon, f. 40v3: *ity uttarāmnāye śrī-omkārapīṭhavinirgate śrīcaṇḍabhairave ṣoḍaśasahasre *uddhṛtam* [conj. : *uddhṛte* Cod.] *yonigahvaram samāptam*), but since the former is a not a Mantrapīṭha text this attribution is implausible.

¹³ For evidence that the early Saiddhāntika Paddhatis drew heavily on the *Svacchanda* see SANDERSON 2004, pp. 359–60, footnotes 27 and 28.

¹⁴ See p. 400.

¹⁵ *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 169r7–v1 (36.15–19b): *granthāntarāṇy asaṃkhyāni vidyā-pīṭhe sthitāni tu* | *pañca ca daśa siddhāni mūlasūtrāṇi sundari* | *vidyāpīṭhaprasiddhāni nāmabhiḥ kathayāmi te* | (1) *sarvavīrasamāyogam* (2) **siddhāyogeśvarīmatam* (em. : *siddhāyāgeśvarīmatam* Cod.) | (3) *pañcāmṛtam ca* (4) *viśvādyam* (5) *yoginijālaśamvaram* | (6) *vidyābhedam* (7) *śīracchedam* (8) *mahāsaṃmohanam tathā* | (9) *nayottaram* (10) *mahāraudram* (11) *rudrāyāmalam eva ca* | (12) *brahmayāmalasamjñam ca* (13) *tathānyam viṣṇuyāmalam* | (14) *daśaturyam smṛtam *skādam* (15) *aumam* (em. *kādamarmam* Cod.) *pañcadaśam matam*.

Siddhayogeśvarīmata/*Trisūla*, *Pañcāmṛta*/*Śricakra*, *Viśvādya*, *Yoginījālaśaṃvara*, *Vidyābheda*, and *Śiraccheda*, the three Vāmatantras as the *Nayottara*, *Mahāraudra*, and *Mahāsaṃmohana*, and the five Yāmalatantras as the *Rudrayāmala*, *Brahmayāmala*/*Picumata*, *Viṣṇuyāmala*, *Skandayāmala*, and *Umāyāmala*. The three currents are the Dakṣiṇa, the Vāma, and the Mixed. To the Dakṣiṇa are assigned the four Tantras of the Mantrapīṭha, the first six Śāktitantras, and the five Yāmalatantras, to the Vāma the three Vāmatantras, and to the Mixed the seventh Śāktitantra, the *Śiraccheda* itself.¹⁶ This excludes from the broader definition not only the non-Śaiva Vajrayāna but also two of the four non-Saiddhāntika divisions of the Śaiva scriptures: the Bhūtantras (*pāścimasrotah*) and the Gāruḍatantras (*pūrvasrotah*), no doubt because these were considered to be on a lower level, ancillary corpora concerned with less exalted matters such as exorcism.¹⁷

Within the two non-Saiddhāntika divisions that remain, the Bhairavatantras and the Vāmatantras (/Guhyātantras), the tradition of the non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva exegetes of Kashmir is grounded within the Śāktitantra division of the Vidyāpīṭha, which contains texts of the two main divisions of that tradition: the Trika and the Kālīkula, rooted respectively in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and the *Śiraccheda*, the former further developed in such texts as the *Mālinīvijayottara*, *Trisirobhairava*, and *Tantrasadbhāva* and the latter expanded into the *Jayadrathayāmala*, also known as the *Tantrarāja*, which comprises four sections of six thousand verses each, of which the *Śiraccheda* is only the first,¹⁸

¹⁶*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 174r6–v9 (40.2–9): *sarvavīraṃ trisūlaṃ ca śricakraṃ viśva-pūrvakam | yoginījālasamjñam ca vidyābhedaṃ śirohṛtam | etāni śāktitantrāṇi santi *śūlālayāni* (conj. : *sūralayāni* Cod.) *tu | savyasrotasi siddhāni śiracchid ubhayātmakam | nayottaram mahāraudraṃ mahāsaṃmohanam tathā | trikam etan mahādevi vāmasrotasi nirgatam | vibhinnaṃ koṭibhedena śākhākalitavistaram | yāmye srotasi sūtrāṇi pañcakam vaimalāni tu | santi vistīrṇaśākhābhiḥ kathiyante tāni nāmabhiḥ | raudraumaṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ cāpi caturtham skandayāmalam | akravyācāram etad dhi catuṣkam api tat smṛtam | brahmayāmalasamjñam ca pañcakam tat picu-r-matam | dvyakṣaram matasamjñam ca kravyādocchuṣmaniścayam | nirācāra(ṃ) mahācāram sarvatobhadrasamjñakam | dvikaṃ sarvātmakam caiva mahādakṣiṇam eva ca | brahmayāmalam etad dhi sūtrair bhinnam tu saptabhiḥ*. On the mixed character of the *Śiraccheda* see also f. 177r2 (40.75cd): *vāmadakṣiṇabhedastham śiracchedam suvistaram*; and for the doctrine of the three currents f. 168v3 (35.121c): *vāmadakṣiṇamiśreṣu*.

¹⁷On the Bhūtantras and Gāruḍatantras and the Kashmirian Kṣemarāja's knowledge of the scripture *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, which covers the territories of both see SANDERSON 2001, p. 14, footnote 13. Kṣemarāja also cites the Gāruḍatantra *Totula*, in *Netroddyota* vol. 2, p. 150, ll. 9–14; pp. 151, 16–152, l. 2; and p. 199, ll. 9–17.

¹⁸See p. 254.

No manuscript of any of the other five Śāktitantras listed by the *Śīraccheda* has come to light; and of them only the *Sarvavīra* and *Pañcāmṛta* have been cited by the Kashmirians.²¹ There is no evidence that they had access to the *Yoginijālaśamvara*, *Vidyābheda*, or *Viśvādyā*.²² The same is true of the three Vāmatantras and the five Yāmalatantras other than the *Brahmayāmala*. The latter, also known as the *Picumata*, is the only one of these eight texts to have come down to us, and it was known and cited in Kashmir, where it has left an en-

²²Of these three the *Yoginijālaśamvara*, though not quoted by the commentators, is cited in the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* of the third *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala* as a major source on its subject; see f. 172v4–5 (*Yoginīsaṃcāra* 1.83): *ity evaṃ yoganiyamam yoginijālaśamvare* (em. : *saṃcāra* Cod.) | *yathotpannam tu kathitam niryogam śṛṇu sāṃpratam*; f. 199v6–7 (7.124cd): *uktāni yāni karmāṇi yoginijālaśamvare*; f. 215r3–4 (11.60c–6): *evam eva samutpannāḥ ṣaḍ yoginyo mahātape* (em. : *majñātape* Cod.) | *tadā devi samākhyātā yoginijālaśamvare | lampātādye 'tha rak-tādye sarvavīre viśeṣataḥ*. The existence of the *Viśvādya* and *Vidyābheda* is less certain. The *Śīraccheda* says of the former that it was taught by Bhairava to the Goddess but concealed by her, that a small part of that was learned by the Sun, that only a small part of that part reached earth, and that it will liberate pure souls only at the end of the present aeon (*Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 176r3–4 [40.51–52, 54ab]): *tantrasāraṃ viniryātam dhṛtam tac ca mayā priye | mayā tat kathitam tubhyam tvayā tad gopitam punaḥ* | 52 **kiṃcinmātram* (conj. : *kecinmāntram* Cod.) *tu vijñātam tvattas tat kila helinā | tasmāt tadāsyataḥ* (conj. : *tadāsyate* Cod.) *satyam alpakam *sarpitam* (conj. : *sarpite* Cod.) *bhuvi | 54 *kalpānte* (conj. : *calpyante* Cod.) *vimalānūnām malam prakṣālayisyati*. Of the *Vidyābheda* it says that it comprised seven *Samhitās* of which six did not reach the earth and will be received only in the final age, that only a very small part of the seventh, a short work called the *Jñānaprasūti*, was passed on by Bhairava (f. 176v9–177r1 [40.72c–75b]): *tayā jñānaprasūtiś ca vidyeśānām mahātape* | 73 *tato 'pi hi mayā jñātā svalpasūtrā surāmbike | matto 'py aṃśaphalā devi tadāvāpi* (conj. : *tasmādvāpi* Cod.) *tridaṇḍinā* | 74 *tridaṇḍito *trṇaḥ prāpa* (conj. : *trṇaprāya* Cod.) *saṃhitām saptamām priye | ṣaṭ *saṃhitā* (corr. : *saṃhitām* Cod.) *na bhūrlokaṃ āgatā viravandite* | 75 *antime tu yuge tāsām prāptir matto bhaviṣyati*).

during imprint, albeit minor, in the ritual manuals of the Kashmirian Śaiva officiants.²³

Both the Saiddhāntika and the non-Saiddhāntika scriptures offered the attainment of two goals: (1) the liberation of the soul from the beginningless cycle of birth and death (*mokṣaḥ*), insisting that this could be achieved only by those who followed their precepts, and (2) the bringing about of the lesser benefits termed *siddhiḥ*, such as the elimination of dangers (*śāntiḥ*), the restoration of health (*puṣṭiḥ*), and the warding off or destruction of enemies (*abhicāraḥ*); and they held that the pre-eminent or sole independent means of attaining these goals is not knowledge but a supramundane form of ritual empowered by visualization and other practices of a meditational character.

They taught a single ritual system, both in the ordering of their ceremonies and in the construction of each. All set out the same elaborate procedures for the initiation (*dīkṣā*) of recruits and the consecration (*abhiṣekaḥ*) of officiants, the same ceremonies for the installation of images and other substrates of worship (*pratiṣṭhā*), and the same rituals of obligatory regular worship (*nityakarma*) comprising the summoning of the deity into the person of the worshipper, the

²³For Abhinavagupta's citations of the *Brahmayāmala* (and Jayaratha's lack of access to that text) see SANDERSON forthcoming *a*. The imprint in the manuals is the inclusion of Caṇḍā Kāpālīnī and her nine-syllable Mantra (the root-Mantra of the *Brahmayāmala*) among the goddesses included among the recipients of oblations in the fire-sacrifice (*Agnikāryapaddhati* A, f. 77v1–7 and B, f. 38v8–39r1) and in the worship of the Goddess in the Tantric *Śivarātripūjā* (*Śivarātripūjāpaddhati*, exposures 70, l. 13–71, l. 11). We see it also in the use of Caṇḍā Kāpālīnī and her four subordinates Raktā, Karālā, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā and their Dūtīs Karālī, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā as deities of the Śrāddha lamp in the Kashmirian Śaivas' *śivadīpaśrāddham*, the Paddhati for which can be seen in photographic reproduction in CHANDRA 1984, pp. 236b–246d. The goddesses appear there in p. 237c9–10 and p. 238a8–10, with minor deformation: Caṇḍākṣī appears as Caṇḍākhyā, and Mahocchuṣmā as Mahodhmā; and HRĪM is substituted for HŪM and CAṆḌĪ for CAṆḌE in the root-Mantra ([OM] HŪM CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ). In the fragmentary and disordered folios of the birch-bark manuscript of the Tantric *Śivarātripūjāpaddhati* listed in the bibliography the correct form CAṆḌE is preserved (exposure 71, ll. 4–10): OM HRĪM CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ MAHĀLAKṢMYAMBĀPĀDUKĀBHYO NAMAḤ. *iti mūlavidyā*. OM HRĪM HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ. OM CAṆḌE ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ. OM KĀPĀ ŚIKHĀYAI VAUṢAṬ. OM LINI KAVACĀYA HŪM. OM [SVĀ NETRE]BHYO VAUṢAṬ. OM HĀ ASTRĀYA PHAṬ. [*ity a*] ṅgāni. The error is the result of the lack of clear distinction in Kashmirian pronunciation of Sanskrit between *e* and *i*, for which see footnote 355 on p. 340. A Nepalese compendium of scriptural passages on the worship of the goddess Siddhalakṣmī/Pratyāṅgirā (*Tridaśadāmarā* (dī) *pratyāṅgirāviṣayakānānātantra*) contains one whose colophon identifies it as the 24th chapter of the *Umāyāmala* and others whose colophons assign them to the third *Ṣaṭka* of a *Rudrayāmala*. But there is a strong possibility that these attributions are fictitious.

deity's worship first there (*antaryāgaḥ*) and then externally (*bahiryāgaḥ*) by projection into a material substrate such as a Liṅga, Maṇḍala, or anthropomorphic image, followed by the repetition of the deity's Mantras (*japaḥ*) and their gratification with offerings in fire (*homaḥ*, *agnikāryam*), with inflections and elaborations of all these for the attainment of *siddhiḥ* (*kāmyakarma*). The features that differentiated the divisions of the Mantramārga, such as the choice of deity propitiated, the specific character of the visualizations (*dhyānam*), Mantras, Maṇḍalas, Mudrās, substrates of worship, and offerings that these choices entailed, were surface features that did not affect significantly this deeper structural unity.

Central in all this was the enactment of the belief that while brahmanical ritual can affect only the body or status of the individual, Śaiva ritual works directly on the soul, that through intense imagination reinforced by incantation, breath-control, and a choreography of hand gestures the soul itself can be grasped, manipulated, and transformed. This is the driving force of all the rituals of the Mantramārga, and it is most clearly displayed in the 'fusion with Śiva' (*śivayojanikā*) at the climax of initiation, when the officiant, seen not as an agent in his own right but as a vessel through which Śiva himself is acting, enters the initiand's body through the flow of the breath, takes hold of his soul, visualizing it as a point of brilliant light, draws it out and into his person with the return of the breath, fuses it with his own soul, and then, as he exhales, raises them both up as one to exit through the cranial aperture and unite with the deity.

The principal features that differentiate the two divisions are (1) that in the choice of offerings for the propitiation of the deity the rituals prescribed in the Saiddhāntika scriptures generally remained within the parameters of purity set by brahmanical convention, while those of the non-Saiddhāntika systems transgressed these parameters to a greater or lesser extent by requiring the inclusion of alcoholic and sanguinary offerings, in keeping with the special character of their deities; and (2) that the rituals of installation taught in the Siddhānta extended beyond the consecration of small moveable Liṅgas for the worship performed by initiates for their own purposes or those of individual clients to include the consecration of temples where worship was to be performed on a regular schedule for the public good, typically those established by royal patrons, and the installation in such temples of a large immoveable Liṅga which would serve as the principal embodiment of the deity, who was then individualized for legal purposes (*vyavahārārtham*) by the prefixing of the name of the

donor to *-īśvara*, as in *Prakāśeśvara* for a Śiva established by, or for the spiritual benefit of king *Prakāśa[dharma]*,²⁴ thus allowing it to be treated in law as the owner of the benefactions in the form of land-revenue and other valuables that would sustain the cult. This involvement in the public domain led to the production of the specialized revelations known as *Pratiṣṭhāntantras* that dealt exclusively with these rituals and such ancillary matters as iconometry, iconography, and the structure and layout of temple types, attached monastic residences, royal palaces, and towns.²⁵

In later times in the Tamil South a new *Saiddhāntika* scriptural literature emerged under titles listed in early scriptural accounts of the *Saiddhāntika* canon.²⁶ This corpus was concerned primarily with the rituals to be performed before these temple images, modelled on those for personal worship but on a much more lavish scale, to be conducted by initiated and consecrated Śaiva officiants engaged for this purpose with the right to pass on their office to their descendants. But in the scriptures known to the Kashmirian exegetes, in the early *Paddhatis*, in South Indian sources up to at least the thirteenth century, and in the Śaiva works that have survived in Nepal from this early period, we find no accounts of such rituals. The role of the officiant presented in those texts extends no further than the consecration of the image before which the worship will be performed. Neither they nor those exegetes make any mention of the Śaiva officiant in the role of the temple priest after installation has been completed.²⁷

²⁴In A.D. 515 a temple for Śiva *Prakāśeśvara* was established in *Daśapura* by an official of the *Aulikara Prakāśadharmā*. See RAMESH and TEWARI 1983, l. 17, v. 22. I cite this as a very early example of what became universal practice in India and South-east Asia.

²⁵The following *Pratiṣṭhāntantras* cited in the Kashmirian exegesis survive (in Nepalese manuscripts): *Devīāmata*, *Mayasamgraha*, and *Piṅgalāmata*. Cited there in the *Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi* of *Vidyākāṇṭha* but not surviving to my knowledge are the *Nandikeśvaramata* (ff. 17v, 53r) and the *Pratiṣṭhāpārameśvara* (ff. 7r, 8r, 12r, 13v, 17v, 23r, 24v, 57v, 67r). To these early *Pratiṣṭhāntantras* must be added the *Mohacūḍottara*, known to *Somaśambhu* in the late eleventh century (see p. 422).

²⁶New South Indian scriptures are found under the titles of all the canonically listed Śiva-bhedas: *Kāmika*, *Yogaja*, *Kāraṇa*, *Cintya*, *Ajita*, *Dīpta*, *Sūkṣma*, *Aṃśumad*, *Sāhasra*, and *Suprabheda*. Yet others were circulated under the titles of Rudrabhedas: *Vijaya*, *Siddha*, *Raurava*, *Mukuta*, and *Vimala*.

²⁷However, it is obvious that *Saiddhāntika* Śaiva officiants must have been functioning as priests in Śaiva temples before the emergence of the South Indian scriptures devoted to their rituals. The earliest possible evidence of which I am aware is found in the *Kūram* copper-plate inscription of *Parameśvaravarman I* of the *Pallava* dynasty of *Kāñcī*, who ruled from A.D. 668/9 to

The Kashmirian exegesis of the Mantramārga in both its divisions shows a deep and comprehensive knowledge of those of these traditions that were current in its time. Yet its perspective imposes a selective emphasis. In the scriptures initiates, and the officiants among them, are both married men and celibate ascetics; and the epigraphical record of royal patronage, mostly confined to the Saiddhāntika tradition, shows that the latter were a conspicuous and influential element, presiding over monastic establishments (*maṭhaḥ*) attached to temples, officiating as royal preceptors (*rājaguruḥ*), and bestowing initiation on their patrons.²⁸ But in the Kashmirian exegesis we are presented above all with the Śaivism of married householders, this being the status of the great majority of its authors.²⁹ The lineage of the most Śākta form of the religion does include some ascetics who, as we shall see, were observers of the Kāpālika Mahāvrata,³⁰ but the private and esoteric orientation of their religious practice means that they are not likely to have been engaged in the manner of the Saiddhāntikas in management of richly endowed religious foundations. The fact that this lineage is distinguished from all others known to us by the inclusion of female Gurus tends to the same conclusion.³¹

Furthermore, while the efficacy of ritual for *siddhiḥ* is nowhere challenged, the detail of such rituals is hardly touched upon. The emphasis is overwhelmingly on the Mantramārga as the means of liberation. The commentators have

690. This records the appointment of an Anantaśivācārya with hereditary rights to perform the worship (*devakarma*) and periodic renovations (*navakarma*) in the royal Śiva temple Vidyāv-inītapallavaparamēśvara (MAHALINGAM 1988, no. 46, ll. 55–56 and 84–89). Anantaśivācārya is a typical Saiddhāntika initiation-name. It is therefore probable that he was a Saiddhāntika; but it is not certain, since it is possible that such names were current among Śaiva priests before the Saiddhāntikas' advent. The Saiddhāntika Śaiva priests of South India are commonly referred to as Śivabrāhmaṇas in inscriptions and in the Saiddhāntika scriptural sources that defend their rights. References to them are numerous in the inscriptions of the Cola period. But the term Śivabrāhmaṇa occurs considerably earlier in the Tiruvallam inscription of Pallava Nandivarman III, dated in c. A.D. 863. Concerning a grant to the temple of Paramēśvara of Tikkālivallam it specifies that 500 *kāḍi* of paddy are for the Śivabrāhmaṇas who offer worship and services in the sanctum (MAHALINGAM 1988, no. 132, ll. 25–26: *tiruvunṇāligaiyull=ār[ā]di[t]t-uppāsarikkum [śiva]brāhmaṇarkku nelli aiṇṇūrru-kkāḍiyum*). But in this case too we cannot exclude the possibility that the term Śivabrāhmaṇa predates its Saiddhāntika application.

²⁸See SANDERSON forthcoming c.

²⁹For the existence of Saiddhāntika ascetics in Kashmir see p. 393.

³⁰See pp. 254, 282, 293, and 294.

³¹For female Krama Gurus see p. 265 (Maṅgalā [Makāradevī]), footnote 92 on p. 265 (Rūpā-nandā), p. 275 (Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā), p. 277 (Keyūravatī [Kakāradevī]), and p. 294 (Īśānī).

also tended to give less attention than the scriptures on which they have commented to meditation (*yogaḥ*) as a path of practice in its own right. The meditator (*yogī*) as opposed to the master of ritual worship (*karmī*) and the gnostic (*jñānī*) has shifted to the periphery of vision. This is very obvious in the works of the Kashmirian non-Saiddhāntikas. Their scriptures place great emphasis on the practice of visionary meditation, particularly as the means of attaining *siddhiḥ*, here understood primarily as the achieving of private supernatural powers such as clairvoyance, telepathy, and the ability to leave the body to enter other worlds. A whole culture of visionary experience has been pushed to the margins by the Kashmirian commentators or its accounts translated through creative exegesis into teachings of non-visionary liberating gnosis (*jñānam*); and with it have disappeared from the foreground the exotic ascetic observances (*vidyāvratam*, *puraścaryā*, *caryāvratam*) taught in the scriptures for those seeking to master the Mantras for such ends. This shift of focus arises from the nature of the commentators' social milieu, which is one of Śaiva brahmins eager to consolidate their religion on the level of high culture. It is this, I propose, that also predisposed them to devote much more attention than can be seen in their scriptures to formulating their metaphysical doctrines and to defending them against those of their opponents in the shared language of Indian philosophical argument.³²

Concerning the social position of the post-scriptural Śaiva authors of Kashmir we have little information and what we have is confined to the non-Saiddhāntika authors. A number of those bear the title Rājānaka, which was given by the ruler to brahmin ministers and inherited by their descendants.³³ The Śākta Śaiva teacher Hrasvanātha, also called Vīranātha, was minister of war

³²See also SANDERSON 1985, p. 203.

³³See *Rājataranṅinī* 6.117: *sa pārthivatvamantritvamiśrayā ceṣṭayā sphuran | rājā rājānakaś ceti miśrām evaṃ dhiyaṃ vyadhāt* 'Brilliant by reason of his conduct that combined the character of both king and minister he thus created the impression that he was both Rāja and Rājānaka'; 6.261. The title has been attributed to Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja, Jayaratha, Takṣakavarta, Bhullaka (*Svacchandoddyota*, vol. 5a, p. 211, ll. 9–10), Yogarāja, and Rāma (the author of the *Spandakārikāvivṛti*). In the *Āgamaḍambara*, p. 47, 18–20, p. 49, 14–15 Saṃkarṣaṇa is made Bhaṭṭaśrī-Saṃkarṣaṇa by the king when he is appointed to a position in the administration. Kashmirian Śākta Śaiva authors whose names are so prefixed are Kallaṭa (e.g., Yogarāja, *Paramārthasāra*, p. 91), Bhāskara (author of the *Śivasūtravārtika*), Vāmana[datta]/Vīravāmana (author of the *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 48, quoting his *Subodhodayamañjarī*, Yogarāja on *Paramārthasāra*, p. 146), Śitikanṭha (author of the *Kaulasūtra* [colophon: *ḥṛīr gurubhaṭṭaśrīśitikanṭhasyeti śubham*]), and Somānanda (Utpaladeva, *Īśvarapratyabhijñānakārikāvṛtti* on 4.16).

and peace under king Yaśaskara (r. A.D. 939–948);³⁴ the innermost circle of the devotees of Abhinavagupta, the most famous and gifted of these Kashmirian exegetes, consisted of members of ministerial families, one a grandson of the same king's prime minister;³⁵ and his commentator Jayaratha reports that his patrilineal ancestors included ministers under Yaśaskara, Ananta (r. 1028–1063), Uccala (r. 1101–1111), and Rājadeva (r. 1213–1236), the last of these being his own father.³⁶ A connection with the milieu of the court is also suggested by contributions by these authors to belles-lettres and the theory of poetry, drama, dance, and music.³⁷ The humbler title Bhaṭṭa and the absence of evidence of any such high-cultural activities among the Saiddhāntikas both suggest that their social position was less elevated.

THE SIDDHĀNTA

In this domain we have commentaries by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha on the *Mrgendra*, by his son Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (II) on the *Maṭaṅgapārameśvara*, the *Kālottara* in its three hundred and fifty verse recension, and the first twelve chapters of the *Kiraṇa* (of which the commentary on the first six has been published), and references to a commentary, now lost, on the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* (*Svāyambhuvoddyota*). Bhūṭikaṇṭha, probably a member of this same lineage, is credited with a commentary on the *Kiraṇa*.³⁸

³⁴See p. 282.

³⁵*Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, concluding verses 5–10 (A) and *Tantrāloka* 37.65–83 (B), concerning his disciples Karṇa (Vallabha, prime minister [*amātyāgraniḥ*] of Yaśaskara [A 5] → Śauri, who retired as a minister to devote himself to religion [B 75] → Karṇa), and his cousin Mandra, described as the wealthy and learned son of an unnamed minister (B 66). Śauri was the brother of Mandra's father and was married to Vatsalikā (A 6ab, B 75a [emending *bhrātā* to *bhartā*]), in a house provide by whom Abhinavagupta wrote his *Tantrāloka* (B 82).

³⁶*Tantrāloka* *viveka*, concluding verses 8–41: Pūrṇamanoratha, minister of king Yaśaskara → Utpala[ratha] → Prakāśaratha → Sūryaratha → Utpalaratha, minister of Ananta, and disciple of his mother's brother Vibhūtidatta, grandson of an unnamed minister of finance → Śivaratha, minister of Uccala; his brother Sammaratha → Guṇaratha → Guṇgaratha → Śṛṅgāratha, minister of Rājarāja (Rājadeva, r. 1213–1236), initiated by Subhaṭadatta, descendant of Vibhūtidatta and author of a lost commentary on the *Tantrāloka* → Jayaratha.

³⁷Thus we have Abhinavagupta's commentaries on the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana (*-locana*), the *Bharatanāṭyaśāstra* (*Abhinavabhārati*), and the *Ghaṭākarpāra*, and Jayaratha's commentary (*-vimarśinī*) on the *Alaṃkārasarvasva* of Ruyyaka.

³⁸Vaktraśambhu, *Mrgendrapaddhatiṭīkā*, p. 208, ll. 12–17: *śrīmatkīraṇamrgendramataṅga-svāyambhuvasūkṣmasvāyambhuvarauravādiṣu sarveṣu śāstreṣu garbhādhānādayaḥ *smṛtyukta-*

From Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (II)'s pupil Bhaṭṭa Vidyākaṇṭha (II) we have an unpublished commentary (*Bhāvacūḍamaṇi*) on the unpublished Pratiṣṭhāntara *Mayasaṃgraha*; and a commentary on another unpublished scripture of this kind, the *Piṅgalāmata*, is attributed by one source to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha³⁹ and by another to Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha.⁴⁰ From these two authors also came a number of exegetical works on the *Svāyambhuvavṛtti* and *Rauravavṛtti*, commentaries by the early Saiddhāntika authority Sadyojyotis on the doctrinal teachings of the scriptures *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* and *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's *Svāyambhuvavṛtṭippanaka* on the former has not come to light, but of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's *Rauravavṛttiviveka* on the latter we have the *Mokṣakārikāvṛtti* and the *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti*, and references to and citations from the *Mantravārtikavṛtti*, the *Āgamaviveka* (= *Sarvāgamaprāmāṇyopanyāsa*), and his commentary on the section dealing with Muḍrās.⁴¹ We also have his unpublished commentary (*-vivṛti*) on Sadyojyotis' *Tattvatrayanirṇaya*, which is an analysis of the ontology of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*.⁴² There was also a lengthy commentary (*brhattikā*) by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha on the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, in which Sadyojyotis set out the ontology of the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*; but this has not come to light. We know of it only from the South Indian Saiddhāntika Aghoraśiva, who tells us that he wrote his own short commentary (*laghutīkā*) on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* for the ben-

saṃskārāḥ (*smṛtyukta* conj. : *śrutyukta* Cod.) *dikṣāmadhye śivamantrair bhaviṣyadbrāhmaṇajātipradakarmasaṃhārāy*oktā iti* (conj. : *oktāḥ* | Cod.) *śrīmatkīraṇavṛtti*krdbhūtikanṭhācāryeṇa* (*krḍ* em. : *kṛta* Cod.) *dikṣāyām uktam*.

³⁹Trilocanaśivācārya, *Somaśambhupaddhativivākyā*, p. 99, ll. 13–15: *tad uktam piṅgalāmataṭīkāyām nārāyaṇakaṇṭhena pīṭhāntam pīṭhavyāpīti*.

⁴⁰The anonymous commentary *-vyākhyā* on the *Śivapūjāstava* of Jñānaśambhu, p. 90: *piṅgalāmataṭīkavṛttau rāmakaṇṭhenāpi "vyāpinyām ādhāraśaktyavasthāyām sthitam" iti*, cited in GOODALL 1998, p. xxvi. I thank him for reminding me of his report of this citation when I mentioned Trilocanaśiva's assertion that the work is by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha. I see no hard evidence that would enable us to establish which of these two attributions is correct, but I incline to favour the first. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha has not referred to the *Piṅgalāmata* in his surviving works, while his father cites five lines from it under its alias *Jayadrathādhikāra*, in *Mrgendravṛtti*, *Kriyāpāda*, p. 47, ll. 8–13.

⁴¹On these commentaries that constituted or were parts of the *Rauravavṛttiviveka* and Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's other works see GOODALL 1998, pp. xviii–xxviii.

⁴²See GOODALL 2004, p. lxi. The *codex unicus* of this commentary has been located by Kei KATAOKA and is being edited for publication by Diwakar ACHARYA, Kei KATAOKA and Dominic GOODALL, to whom I am very grateful for supplying me with a photocopy of the manuscript and his transcription in the form of an e-text.

efit of those whose understanding the longer work had taxed.⁴³ Finally, we have Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa*. This, a commentary on Sadyojyotiś' philosophical treatise *Nareśvaraparīkṣā* 'An Enquiry into the Soul and God', is surely his most outstanding work. Transcending association with this or that individual scripture it provides a reasoned philosophical defence against the Buddhists, Mīmāṃsakas and others of what it takes to be the shared doctrinal position of all the scriptures. For while differences between individual scriptures in matters of ritual procedure (*kriyā*), meditation (*yogaḥ*), and rules of discipline (*caryā*) were recognized—indeed one was strictly enjoined to stay within the parameters of a single scripture in this regard—differences on the doctrinal level (*jñānam*, *vidyā*), though, of course, they existed, especially between earlier and later texts, could not be seen without throwing into doubt the unitary validity of the corpus and had therefore to be thought away, either through selective neglect or faith-driven creative exegesis.

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha also composed a Paddhati, a systematic guide to the performance of the Saiddhāntika rituals, based on the *Kālottara*, now known only from references in his son's commentary on that scripture⁴⁴ and from an excerpt or paraphrase in the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, an unpublished Kashmirian Paddhati in the form of a digest of Śaiva scriptural sources compiled by Rājānaka Takṣakavarta⁴⁵ at some time after the eleventh century.⁴⁶ A late South Indian source claims the composition of Paddhatis not only by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha but also by other Gurus of this -kaṇṭha lineage: by Rāmakaṇṭha, Vaidyakaṇṭha, probably identical with Vidyākaṇṭha, Vibhūtikaṇṭha, probably one with the

⁴³ *Tattvasaṃgrahaṭīkā*, introductory verses 3–4.

⁴⁴ *Sārdhatrisatikālottaravṛtti*, pp. 28, 29, 36, 42, 58, and 59. In all these cases Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha introduces verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre by saying that they are "what his Guru has said on this [matter] in [his] Paddhati" (*yad uktam [l proktam / tad idam uktam] asmadgurubhir atra paddhatau*).

⁴⁵ *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 31r3–5: *paścād aśeṣatattva*vyāpītvād āhūya* (conj. : *vyāpītvām āhuyec* Cod.) *chivaṃ mūrtau uccārya *mūlamantram* (em. : *mūlamantra* Cod.) *plutāntam udyantṛtāvalambanataḥ brahmādikāraṇeśvaraniṣevitebhyah padebhyah udgamya dhvaninidhanadhā-mni *kramād viliya* (conj. : *manāṅgriliya* Cod.) *sṛṣṭikrameṇa viniṣṛjya ciccittapavanavācavā-cyānām sāmāsyam anubhūya hr̥tpuṇḍarikamadhyāt sphuradanupamadhāmatārakākāram sau-ṣumṇena pathā taṃ saṃgrhya ca śāntamudrayā nyaset. śrīnārāyaṇakaṇṭhenetyādiṣṭaṃ nijapaddh-atau*. For the title of this digest see the final colophon (f. 75v14–15): *samāpteyaṃ nityādisaṃgrahābhīdhānā paddhatiḥ kṛtis tatrābhavataḥ mahāmāheśvarācāryaśrīmattakṣakavartasyeti śivam*. In an intermediate colophon it is referred to simply as the *Nityādisaṃgraha* and described as extracted from the scriptures: *ity āgamoddhṛte nityādisaṃgrāhe* (f. 24v4, etc.).

⁴⁶ On the question of Takṣakavarta's date see p. 422.

Bhūtikanṭha who composed a commentary on the *Kirāṇa*, and Śrīkanṭha, who is probably the scholar of this name who wrote the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, a treatise of unknown scriptural affiliation.⁴⁷ A *Śrīkanṭhapaddhati*, perhaps by this scholar, has been quoted once by the South Indian Saiddhāntika Vaktraśambhu, in the twelfth century.⁴⁸

It may be thought that Somaśambhu's famous Paddhati should be included in this account of Kashmirian Saiddhāntika literature. For the Rājānakas of Padmapura (Pampur, 34°02'35"N 74°53'53"E) have claimed Somaśambhu as one of their remote ancestors, at least from the fifteenth century onwards. But the claim is dubious. In the Kashmirian version of the final verses of his Paddhati he is said to have been a brahmin of the Gārgya Gotra,⁴⁹ while the Rājā-

⁴⁷The source that lists these Paddhatis is the *Śaivabhūṣaṇa* of Pañcākṣarayogin (17th century). See BRUNNER 1963–1998, pt. 4, pp. xlv–xlvī. On the question of Śrīkanṭha's identity and position in the Kashmirian -kanṭha lineage see SANDERSON forthcoming b.

⁴⁸*Mrgendrapaddhatiṭīkā*, p. 130, ll. 10–15: *śrīkanṭhapaddhatau* The name of the author of this work is given at the end of the manuscript in the wreckage of the following verse in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre (p. 253, ll. 10–15): *śrī* (+ + +) *naṭeśvareṇa gurunā vaktrādinā śambhunā śrīmacchaṃkarasūnūnā viracitā ṭīkā samāptā* (mayā) | **śrīmacchrīmrgarājārājapadavīprāptaprathāyāḥ* (mrgarājārājapadavī conj. : mṛ[ge]ndrarājapaddhatir iti Cod. [probably by substitution of a marginal gloss]) **kṛter* (em. : *kṛtor* Cod.) | *ārādhyasya madīyapāśavipinacchede* (madīya em. : *dīya* Cod.) *kuthārātmanah* 'Here ends the commentary composed by the Guru Śambhu-after-Vaktra, *a Naṭarāja [among ...(?)], son of the venerable Śaṅkara, on the composition known as the *Mrgendrapaddhati* of the Worshipful Master who was the axe that served to cut through the forest of my bonds.' The expression *vaktrādinā śambhunā* ('Śambhu-after-Vaktra') is a periphrasis of a common type for the initiation-name Vaktraśambhu (= Vaktraśiva, Tatpuruṣaśiva, Puruṣaśiva); cf. *somaś śambhūttarah* for Somaśambhu in footnote 50 on p. 248. The obvious emendation *madīya* for *dīya* makes him the pupil of Aghoraśiva, the author of this Paddhati on the *Mrgendra*, who dated the completion of his *Kriyākramadyotikā* in Śaka 1080 (A.D. 1157/8). It is possible that *-naṭeśvareṇa* after the lacuna of three syllables gives his mundane name or part of it. But since we are told the author's initiation-name I have taken it to mean that he is praising himself as outstanding ('a [veritable] Naṭeśvara [Naṭarāja]') in some class lost in the lacuna, most probably the [Śaiva] learned. In favour of this hypothesis we can cite a parallel in a text of the same kind from the same region and community. The *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati* refers to Prāsādaśiva, author of the *Prāsādapaddhati* as a Naṭarāja among Gurus (p. 4, ll. 1–2): *anyac cārutarāṃ kriyākaraṇakam sanmaṇḍanam nirmitam prāsādākhyāśivena deśikanateśena svanāmocitam* 'Another, most elegant aid in the performance of the rituals, an ornament of the virtuous, was composed by Prāsādaśiva, that Naṭarāja among Gurus, and named after him'.

⁴⁹*Karmakāṇḍakramāvalī*, v. 1810c–1811: *gārgye kule samudito vitatāvadātavidyāviśeṣa* **kuśalah* (em. : *kuśala* Ed.) *śrutaśīlavān yah* | *śrīmān asau somaśivābhīdhāno dīkṣakravāḍadaragītā-kīrtiḥ* | *śaivāgamajño munivṛndavandyaś cakre kriyākāṇḍapadākramāvalīm* 'The venerable Somaśiva (/Somaśambhu), born in the Gārgya Gotra, adept in his vast and pure higher knowl-

nakas of Padmapura tell us that their Gotra is the Gautama.⁵⁰ In any case,

edge, endowed with both learning and morality, his fame proclaimed through the world in all directions, master of the Śaiva scriptures, revered by the community of [Śaiva] ascetics, has composed [this] *Kriyākāṇḍapadākramāvalī*.

⁵⁰The claim that Somaśambhu was an early member of the Kashmirian lineage of the Rājānakas of Padmapura (the Rāzdāns of Pampur) and the report that their Gotra is that of Gautama is seen in the concluding verses of Rājānaka Ānanda's *Naiṣadhiyakāvyaṭattavivṛti*, in **Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā* A, f. 1, ll. 2–5, 10–11, f. 2, ll. 1–7 (vv. 12, 5, and 10–12): *asti śrīśāradāpīṭhaḥ *kaśmīrā* (B : *kaśmīra* A) *iti viśrutaḥ | vidyānāṃ muktibhījānāṃ kṣetram kṣetrājñāsiddhidam | 2 āste padmapuram tatra padmasadmapuropamam | *māheśvaraiḥ* (em. STEIN in marg. : *māheśvaraiḥ* AB) *śrīpatibhir bhūdevair upaśobhitam |5 jayanti jagati khyātā rājānakapadānvayāt | tatrābhijātās sadvidyā guravo gautamānvayāḥ |10 *kaiyya-ṭṭovaṭṭamammattakṣīrasvāmimukhair ayam* (B : *kaiyyaṭṭovaṭṭamammatta* em. : *kaiyyaṭṭhova-ṭṭhamammattā* A) *| śataśākhikṛto vaṃśo muktānām udayasthalī | 11 asminn anante vaṃśā-bdhau citprakāśair vikāṣayan | lokam *sambhūttaro* (B : *sambhubhuro* A : *sambhudharo* conj. STEIN : *sambhuparo* conj. STEIN in handwritten notes at the end of the transcript) *jajñe somaḥ soma ivāparaḥ | 12 nigrāhānugrahaiḥ khyāto loke vīgrahavān śivāḥ | yaś cakre śarmaṇe 'nūnām śaivakarmakramāvalīm* 'There is the throne of the Goddess of Learning (Śāradā) known as Kashmir, the home of the sciences that lead to liberation, the bestower of success on souls. In it is Padmapura, the equal of the heaven of Brahmā, adorned by wealthy Śaiva brahmins.Victorious are its noble and wise Gurus of the Gautama Gotra, famed in the world by their possession of the title Rājānaka.This lineage, this source of liberated souls, has spread in countless branches through Kaiyaṭa, Uvaṭa, Mammaṭa, Kṣīrasvāmin and others. In the vast ocean of this lineage was born Soma, [his name] followed by -sambhu (*sambhūttaro ...somaḥ*), who, like the moon (*somaḥ*) caused mankind to expand with the radiances of his consciousness, who, famed for both his chastisements [of the unobservant] and for the favour he showed [to the worthy by granting them initiation and instruction], was Śiva himself in human form, who composed the *Śaivakarmakramāvalī* for the welfare of souls'. It is only after this verse that the account of the lineage generation by generation begins, running from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The claim that Somaśambhu was a member of this lineage had already been made in the fifteenth century in a similar encomium given by Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha in his commentary on the *Bālabodhinī* of Jagaddhara in **Rājānakavaṃśapraśaṃsā* A, f. 9, l. 6–9 (vv. 2): *vidyātīrthavīhāraśālīni param śrīśāradāsaṃśraye kauberyā harito lalāṭatilake kaśmīradeśe 'bhaye | yac chrīpadmapuram* (*yac chrī* corr. : *yaḥ śrī* AB) *purandarapuraprodyatprabham bhāsate | tatrācāryavaro babbhūva bhagavān somaḥ sa somaprabhaḥ* 'In Padmapura, which shines with the great radiance of the heaven of Indra in the land of Kashmir that is secure from all dangers, the forehead mark of the north, the home of Śāradā, rich in learning, holy sites, and Vihāras, there was born the venerable Soma, radiant as the moon, the foremost of [Śaiva] Ācāryas'. Hélène Brunner, to whom I communicated these passages, took them (1963–1998, pt. 4, p. xlv) to be persuasive evidence that Somaśambhu was indeed a Kashmirian by birth and that the clash of Gotras was of no consequence since the verse that attributes the Gārgya Gotra to Somaśambhu appears only in the Kashmirian edition of the text and is therefore not authentic. However, one wonders what motive there could have been for a Kashmirian redactor to have inserted this false information. There are, incidentally, no Rāzdāns with the Gotra Gārgya.

even if Somaśambhu was from Kashmir, the Saiddhāntika Śaiva ritual system that he teaches is in no sense characteristic of that region. Somaśambhu wrote for a pan-Indian audience while holding office as the abbot of the prestigious Golakīmaṭha near Tripurī in Central India.

One set of features above all others may be said to mark out the Kashmirian Saiddhāntikas' exegesis from that of their Śākta contemporaries. This is its uncompromising ritualism, relative mundanity, and professionalism. For Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha the soul's state of bondage is one of ignorance, but he denies that knowledge, the usual means of liberation in Indian soteriologies, is able to eliminate that state. This is because its root cause is impurity (*malah*), defined as an imperceptible, all-pervasive substance (*dravyam*) that prevents the deployment of the soul's innate omniscience and omnipotence. Being a substance it can be removed only by action (*vyāpārah*), and the only action that can remove it is the ritual of Śaiva initiation performed by Śiva himself acting in the person of a consecrated officiant. Moreover, the liberation to be achieved through initiation is a future state, one that will become manifest only at death. So the question who *is* liberated does not arise for these Saiddhāntikas. The only issue is that of who *will* be liberated and that being dependent on whether or not one has been accepted for initiation is a matter entirely within the control of the Siddhānta's institutions. For the Śāktas too the performance of ritual and the bestowing of qualification through publicly verifiable ceremonies were important, but they were subordinated to a gnostic perspective that allowed the possibility of liberation and qualification to office through illumination alone, gradual or sudden, without the necessity of ritual. Moreover, the cause of bondage was defined simply as ignorance and therefore the state of liberation brought about by its removal could be seen as a goal that could be achieved before death. Of course, liberation through insight alone and recognition as a Guru without passing through visible ceremonies but by an internal and therefore unverifiable "consecration by the goddesses of one's own mind and senses", were seen as exceptional. But the possibility was there for charismatic individuals to enter and innovate in a way and to a degree that was hardly conceivable within the more institutionalized Siddhānta. Similarly, Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha is more restrictive than the Śāktas in his assessment of the criteria of selection for initiation, trenchantly opposing the lax theory of inferable grace that enabled the Śāktas to justify post-mortem initiations performed at the request of the deceased's relatives, the fervour of such requests, or simply the Guru's own desire to assist the dead being taken as valid signs that Śiva wished the ritual to

be performed.⁵¹ This opposition between Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha and the Śāktas prompts the observation that while the Śaivism of the Śāktas was in general more esoteric and less public than that of the Siddhānta it nonetheless encompassed a spectrum of practice that extended further into the domain of social religion than the Saiddhāntikas felt able to go. The staid Siddhānta stressed in accordance with its metaphysical pluralism (*dvaitavādaḥ*) the primacy and irreducibility of individuals acting for their own benefit, so aligning itself in the wider context of religious values with the autonomism of the brahmanical Mīmāṃsaka ritualists.⁵² Just as the Mīmāṃsakas' autonomism prevented them from providing an adequate account of the domain of social religion, where religious acts are performed by individuals as representatives of families or communities who expect to share the merit of those acts, so that the frequent assertions of shared merit in the literature have to be dismissed as not literally true (*arthavādaḥ*), so the Siddhānta, as it chose to draw closer to this polarity of brahmanical thought, found itself disinclined to justify those areas of established Śaiva practice in which individualism was blurred. The left, therefore, was enabled to outflank the Siddhānta on both sides by offering itself to Śaivas not merely as a higher, more esoteric kind of practice but also as better equipped to justify the more mundane faiths of the religion.⁵³

THE COMMENTARY ON THE PIṄGALĀMATA

Of the scriptures on which these Kashmirian Saiddhāntikas wrote or based Paddhatis, the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Matanṅapārameśvara*, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Kālottara*, the *Mṛgendra*, and the *Mayasaṃgraha* are all texts of the Saiddhāntika canon, as we would expect. But the remaining scripture, the Pratiṣṭhāntara *Piṅgalāmata*, is not. For that work, of which several Nepalese manuscripts survive, connects itself and is indeed connected with the Śākta-inclined Yāmala tradition of the *Brahmayāmala* (*Picumata*).⁵⁴ That a commentary on such a text should be among the works

⁵¹On post-mortem initiation (*mṛtoddhārāḥ*) in Kashmir see SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 264–267.

⁵²On the Mīmāṃsakas' autonomism see SANDERSON 1985, pp. 193–196.

⁵³On the opposition between the two theories of liberation, through ritual and knowledge, in the Saiddhāntika and Śākta views, see SANDERSON 1995, pp. 38–47, and on the opposed metaphysical doctrines that underly these theories see SANDERSON 1992, pp. 282–291.

⁵⁴*Piṅgalāmata*, f. 2v4: *asya tantrasya kāmāṃjñā. piṅgalāmatasaṃjñā pratiṣṭhākalpaṃ jayadra-thādhikāraṃ brahmayāmalasyāntahpātīti ca* ... (f. 2v6:) *sa ca dvividhaḥ* (corr. : *dvividhaṃ* Cod.)

of these Saiddhāntikas may surprise. However, the procedures it teaches are for the most part exactly those that are the subject of Saiddhāntika texts of this kind as described above. It teaches non-Saiddhāntika ritual procedures and details of iconography specific to the Vāma, Yāmala, and Trika traditions, but only in addition to these.⁵⁵ As such it is not only a source relevant to Saiddhāntikas—and indeed it is much cited by them—⁵⁶ but also a valuable indication that the sep-

kāmarūpy oḍayānī ca. ayaṃ ca kāmarūpī ... (f. 3r3–5:) idānīm brahmayāmalasyāntahpātīty āśā-nikā “daurvāsyam paicikam caiva sāravatamatam tathā | jayadratham ca phetkaram pañcamam parikīrtitam | raktādyam lampātādyam ca saptadhā brahmayāmalam” eteṣāṃ saptavidhabrahma-yāmalānām madhye kim iti. jayadratham etat ‘What is the name of this Tantra? The name is *Piṅgalāmata*. [Also known as the] *Jayadrathādhikāra* it is a text on the rituals of installation and is part of the *Brahmayāmala* [group]. ... It is twofold: that of Kāmarūpa and that of Uḍḍiyāna. This is that of Kāmarūpa. ... Now it will be asked which this is of the seven *Brahmayāmala* texts taught in the passage “The *Brahmayāmala* is sevenfold: the *Durvāsomata*, the *Pecikāmata*, the *Sarasvatīmata*, the *Jayadratha*, the *Phetkāramata* fifth, the *Raktāmata*, and the *Lampātāmata*”. It is the *Jayadratha*.’ Cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 329r1–3 (40.163–165), on the Mata divisions of the *Brahmayāmala*/*Picumata*: *tad ekaṃ saptadhā bhinnam brahmākhyam śrāvakechhayā | raktādyam pecikādyam ca śṛgālimatam eva ca | śāmbaram nīlakeśākhyam bhārūṇḍākhyam ca piṅgalam | śāmbaram tu dvidhā bhinnam bhedenotphullakena tu | evam etāni caṣṭau ca matāni kathitāni tu | vistīrṇāni kuraṅgākṣi tantre ’smin brahmayāmale* ‘This one *Brahma*[yāmala] has divided into seven to meet the wishes of those to whom it was to be taught: *Raktāmata*, *Pecikāmata*, *Śṛgālimata*/*Pherāmata*, *Śāmbarāmata*, *Nīlakeśāmata*, *Bhārūṇḍāmata*/*Bhārūḍīmata*, and *Piṅgalāmata*, together with the *Utpullakamata* (for the *Śāmbarāmata* has this as one of its two divisions). Thus, O doe-eyed one, I have told you the eight extensive Mata texts that are within this Tantra *Brahmayāmala*’.

⁵⁵The text does not refer to these traditions by name, but it gives the colours of their principal deities in the *Citrādhikāra*, its section on painted images (Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā [Trika]; Tumburu, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, and Aparājītā [Vāma]; Bhairava, Raktā, Karālā, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā [Yāmala]), f. 28r5–v6: (*Citrādhikāra*, v. 18:) *parā raktā jayā caiva svadūtyā saha sundari | sarve śuklāḥ samākhyātā ye cānye śubhasambhavāḥ ... (20:) raktavarṇāḥ smṛtā hy ete karālā vijayā tathā | aparā saha dūtyā ca ye cānye tatparicchadāḥ ... (22c–23b:) ajitā caiva caṇḍākṣī dūtyā saha varānane | sarve pītāḥ samākhyātāḥ svaparigrahasamyutāḥ ... (24:) parāparā mahocchuṣmā ajitā kiṃkarīyutā | kṛṣṇavarṇāḥ smṛtā hy etā yās cānyās tatsamudbhavāḥ ... (33–36:) raktādyāḥ patragā likhya bhairavam karnīkopari | bhairavam ca dhuram kṛtvā paṅktisthās tās tu devatāḥ | catuṣkaṃ ca tathā ṣaṣṭham dvādaśātmaṃ ca ṣoḍaśam | caturviṃśam likhed devam vidhinānena suvrate | jayādyās cakragās tadvat paṅktisthā vā likhet kramāt | nāvārūḍhās ca vā likhyās tumburuḥ karnādhārakah | parādyāḥ śūlahastās ca trīśirās tu tripadmakā | svaśāstroktā-thavā likhya cakrasamsthātha paṅktigāḥ*.

⁵⁶E.g., Vidyākāṇṭha, *Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi* ff. 4v, 8v, 21r, 24r, 25r, 25v, 35v, 37v, 40r, 43r, 43v, 44v, 50v, 53r, 53v, 55r, 57v, 61r, 61v, 62v, and 66r; *Somaśambhupaddhati*, pt. 4, p. 71, v. 6cd; p. 123, v. 143cd; Jñānaśīva, *Jñānaratnāvalī*, pp. 481, 485, 548, 563, and 567; *Īśānaśīvagurudevapaddhati*, *Kriyāpāda*, p. 369; Vaktraśambhu, *Mṛgendrapaddhatiṭīkā*, p. 238; Bhaṭṭa Śivottama, *Varuṇapaddhati*, p. 41.

aration and opposition between the Saiddhāntika and non-Saiddhāntika forms of Śaivism is less clear-cut than appears from reading the commentaries on the general Tantras. For those are restricted in their scope to one or other of the traditions, paying little or no attention to the others. Furthermore, the Kashmirian exegetes of the Saiddhāntika and Śākta-inclined Tantras developed mutually opposed metaphysical views, encouraging us to assume that this dichotomy on the level of learned theory must reflect an equally strict separation on the level of ritual practice among Śaiva officiants. While there may have been officiants limited to purely Saiddhāntika procedures there were certainly others who were not, as the existence of the *Piṅgalāmata* indicates.⁵⁷

THE KĀLIKULA

Kashmirians of the Śākta Śaiva division have given us exegesis in two traditions, the Kālikula and the Trika, and, from the standpoint of those, on the cult of Tripurasundarī, and on two non-Saiddhāntika scriptures for the propitiation of Bhairava and his consort that were the primary basis of the Kashmirian Śaiva Paddhatis, thus inserting their exegesis into the less esoteric domain of mainstream observance.

The Kālikula texts teach the means of propitiating numerous forms of the goddess Kālī/Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī.⁵⁸ Within this literature we find a great mass of Kalpas that conform in their ritual structure to the standard type of the Mantramārga, that is to say, with a single goddess to be propitiated at the centre of a single retinue of secondary powers or emanations, but also a tradition of a different kind, known as the Krama or Great Teaching (Mahānaya, Mahārtha,

⁵⁷In future work I hope to explore further the theme of the co-functionality of these Śaiva systems that we have too readily seen as though they were those of distinct schools or sects. Some evidence of this has already been presented. I have shown the input of the ritual system of the Dakṣiṇa *Svacchanda* into the early Saiddhāntika ritual manuals (SANDERSON 2004, pp. 358–361 and footnote 27), the diversity of ritual systems, Saiddhāntika and non-Saiddhāntika, in the practice of the specialized Śaiva officiants whose duties are the subject of the *Netra* (SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 245, 252–254), and the co-existence of Saiddhāntika, Dakṣiṇa, and Śākta ritual in the repertoire of the Śaiva officiant taught in the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Līṅgapurāṇa* (*ibid.*, pp. 235–236). For a summary classification of the Mantramārga into nine ritual systems see *ibid.*, p. 229, footnote 1.

⁵⁸The post-scriptural Kashmirian literature regularly gives the name of this goddess as Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī, but the manuscripts of our scriptural sources always give it as Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī in keeping with common Aīśa usage for the feminine of *kṛt* derivatives in *-ana-*.

Mahāmnāya),⁵⁹ in which Kālī is worshipped as the central deity in a sequence of deity circles seen as embodying successive phases of her operation in the cosmic process conceived as those of a dynamic consciousness to be contemplated through the sequence of worship as the worshipper's own cyclical flow of awareness in the perception of objects.

Of the scriptures of the Kālikula the following were known to the Kashmirians: the *Jayadrathayāmala*, the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*, the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, and the *[Devī]-sārdhaśatikā*. These, with the exception of the *[Devī]-sārdhaśataka* and the latter part of the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, have survived in Nepalese manuscripts. Of the *Sārdhaśataka* only four verses have come down to us, giving the names of the thirteen Kālīs that form the circle of the Nameless (*anākhyacakram*), in which the Krama's worship culminates in the system of the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*.⁶⁰

In addition to these we have Nepalese manuscripts of other related Kālikula scriptures: the *Devīdyardhaśatikā*, a version of much of which has also been transmitted in the *Siddhakhanda* of the *Manthānabhairava*,⁶¹ the composite *Yonigahvara*, which shares much material with the *Devīdyardhaśatikā* and

⁵⁹For the variety of terms used to denote this system see, e.g., (1) *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 3v8 (3.4); Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaparakāśa*, f. 120v4–5 (v. 166): *kramasāsanam*; (2) *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 6v6 (3.1): *kramārthaḥ*; (3) *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 189, l. 1: *kramadarśanam*; (4) *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 157, l. 7: *kramanayaḥ*; (5) Trivandrum, *Mahānayaparakāśa* 1.2cd, 9.52a, *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 9, l. 3, p. 78, l. 16: *mahārthaḥ*; (6) Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaparakāśa*, f. 120r2 (v. 159); *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 193, l. 16: *mahānayaḥ*; (7) Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaparakāśa*, f. 103v5 (v. 4), f. 121r1 (v. 167), commentary on Śitikaṇṭha's *Mahānayaparakāśa*, p. 141, ll. 12–13; Kṣemarāja, *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 29, l. 7: *mahāmnāyaḥ*; (8) Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaparakāśa*, f. 120r4–5 (v. 161), *Yonigahvara*, v. 492: *mahāsāsanam*; (9) qu. in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 193, l. 16: *kālīnayaḥ*; (10) *Kālikākulapañcaśataka*, f. 8r1 (2.52): *kālikākramaḥ*; (11) Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaparakāśa*, f. 119v5 (v. 157), *Mahānayaparakāśa* (Triv.) 3.109: *devatānayaḥ*; (12) qu. in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 196, l. 11, *Vijñānabhairava-vivṛti*, p. 110, l. 15: *devīnayaḥ*; (13) qu. in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 195, l. 14: *atinayaḥ*, though the commentator on Śitikaṇṭha's *Mahānayaparakāśa* refers to the *atinayaḥ* as that of which the Krama teaching is the essence: *asmiṃś cātinayasārasarvasve kramārthe* (p. 126, ll. 11–12; cf. p. 141, ll. 12–13); and (14) Kṣemarāja, *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 21, l. 5: *rahasyāmnāyaḥ*.

⁶⁰The verses have been quoted by Jayaratha in *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 161, ll. 6–13. In l. 9 emend *svakālī* to *sukālī*. The passage is identical except for minor differences with *Devīdyardhaśatikā*, ff. 14v7–15r5 (vv. 175c–179).

⁶¹*Manthānabhairava*, *Siddhakhanda*, ff. 179v1–186v3. This forms a chapter of 115 verses with the title *śrī-asitāvidyādhikāravarnanakraṇodayaḥ*. In the *Devīdyardhaśatikā* Bhairava asks the questions and the Goddess answers them. But here the roles have been reversed in line with the rest of the *Manthānabhairava*.

some with the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, and the **Uttaragharāmnāya* that is a section of the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*⁶² and includes two short texts, the *Kālikākramaslokadvādaśikā* and the *Kālikākramapañcāśikā*, which it describes as having been taught by the Siddha Niṣkriyānanda, also called Krodharāja, to the Siddha Vidyānanda, described as a denizen of the cremation-ground (*śmaśānavāsī*).⁶³

Several verses of a *Kālikākrama* have been quoted by Kṣemarāja. This should perhaps be added to the list of Kālikula scriptural texts known to the Kashmirians, though the verses lack the vocatives indicative of dialogue and any of the Aīśa deviations from Paninian norms typical of such texts.⁶⁴

THE EXEGESIS OF THE JAYADRATHAYĀMALA/TANTRARĀJA

The *Jayadrathayāmala*, comprising four parts, each of some six thousand stanzas (*ṣaṭka*), is far larger in extent than the rest of the surviving literature of the Kālikula combined, and at least the last three parts appear to have been redacted in Kashmir. The first part is earlier than the others, presents itself as a complete work, and gives us no strong reason that I can see for assuming that it too is Kashmirian in origin.⁶⁵ Jayaratha quotes frequently from the first, third, and fourth quarters in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka*, without attribution⁶⁶ or

⁶² *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* ff. 20r8–24v3 (7.155–245). 7.155ab: *punar anyam pravakṣyāmi āmnāyagharām uttaram*.

⁶³ *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, f. 20v6–7 (7.164c–165a): *labhyate sma mahājñānam vidyārājena suvrate | krodharājena vikhyātam*; f. 21v3–4 (7.182–183): *śilācitir munivaras tasya putras tapodhanah | yogābhyāsarato devi siddhah sābararūpadhrk | vidyānandeti vikhyāto mahāvīravarah priye | śmaśānavāsī nityastho niśātanarataḥ param*; f. 21v7–8 (7.187c–188b): *tasya tuṣṭo munivaro niṣkriyānanda uttamah | amoghavāṇyā tasyaiva saṃkrāntam kālikākramam*; f. 24r3–4 (7.241): *śrīniṣkriyānandanāthena sābarasyaiva bhūtale | uktā pañcāśikā devī kālikākramam uttamam*.

⁶⁴ *Śivasūtravimarsinī*, p. 118, ll. 1–7 (the first verse has also been cited in *Netroddyota*, vol. 2, p. 202, ll. 2–3, and the first two verses in *Paramārthasāravivṛti*, p. 90, ll. 1–4); *Tantrāloka* *viveka*, vol. 2, p. 56, ll. 3–6; vol. 3, p. 390, ll. 9–12; p. 119, ll. 8–9; pp. 133, l. 12–134, l. 2; p. 133, ll. 9–10; and p. 139, ll. 9–10.

⁶⁵ On the independence of the first *Ṣaṭka* see SANDERSON 2002, p. 2. For evidence of the Kashmirian origin of the rest of the text see SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 278–283.

⁶⁶ *Ṣaṭka* 3, ff. 76v8–77r2 at *Tantrāloka* *viveka*, vol. 11, *Āhnika* 29, p. 92, ll. 15–19; f. 130r7–v1 *ibid.*, p. 66, ll. 15–16. *Ṣaṭka* 4: f. 121r2–6 *ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 186, ll. 14–5 and pp. 186, l. 17–187, l. 2; f. 123r7 *ibid.*, p. 63, l. 20; f. 199v2–3 *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 103, ll. 16–17; f. 200v6–7 *ibid.*, p. 164, ll. 12–13; f. 200v7 *ibid.*, p. 145, l. 5; f. 206r4–5 *ibid.*, vol. 11, *Āhnika* 29, p. 71, ll. 5–6; f. 235v4 *ibid.*, p. 9, ll. 2–3; ff. 235v7–236r1 *ibid.*, p. 10, ll. 14–17.

under the name *Tantrarājabhṭāraka*;⁶⁷ and it is probable that this is the *Rājatantra* that he says that the Guru Śṛṅgāra, his teacher's teacher (*paramaguruḥ*) and son of Rājānaka Dāśī, taught to his father, the minister Śṛṅgārāratha.⁶⁸

The importance of this text in Kashmir is evident in the fact that a number of the forms of Kālī whose Kalpas it teaches have found their way beyond the esoteric context of this literature into the Paddhatis used by Kashmirian Śaiva officiants until recent times for the fire-sacrifice that accompanied their major ceremonies, being included in the section of that sacrifice reserved for the female deities (*devīnām ājyahomah*). These Kālīs are Bhuvanamālīnī, Pāpāntakārīṇī, Vidyāvidyeśvarī, Vāgbhaveśvarī, Vāgīśī, Siddhalakṣmī, Mantramātṛkā, Mantra-ḍāmarikā, Saptakoṭīśvarī, Bhāgyādhirohiṇī, and Nityākālī.⁶⁹ In the Paddhatis the sections devoted to each of these goddesses include passages from the Kalpas themselves to be recited for the goddesses' gratification (as *tarpaṇaślokaḥ*) and

⁶⁷ *Ṣaṭka* 1: f. 29r8–9 at *Tantrāloka* *viveka*, vol. 5, p. 17, ll. 15–18; f. 29v1–2 *ibid.*, p. 18, ll. 1–4; f. 29v2–3 *ibid.*, ll. 6–7; 30v3–5 *ibid.*, ll. 9–11; f. 41r8–9 *ibid.*, p. 63, ll. 15–16; f. 41v2–4 *ibid.*, pp. 63, l. 18–64, l. 4. *Ṣaṭka* 3: f. 148r6–7 *ibid.*, p. 17, ll. 8–11; f. 148v1 *ibid.*, l. 12; f. 148v1 *ibid.*, l. 4; f. 148v1 *ibid.*, p. 18, l. 16; f. 153v1–2 *ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 211, ll. 14–18. *Ṣaṭka* 4: f. 59r3–5 *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 189, ll. 19–16; f. 118v2 *ibid.*, vol. 11, *Āhnika* 29, p. 46, ll. 8–9; f. 120r2–3 *ibid.*, p. 41, ll. 9–10; f. 120r3 *ibid.*, l. 12; f. 120v6–7 *ibid.*, ll. 14–15; f. 124r2 *ibid.*, p. 43, l. 12; f. 124r3–4 *ibid.*, p. 44, ll. 4–7; f. 124r5–6 *ibid.*, p. 49, ll. 22–23; f. 124v6 *ibid.*, l. 15; f. 124v6 *ibid.*, l. 15; f. 125r1 *ibid.*, l. 17; f. 125r7–v1 *ibid.*, p. 51, ll. 3–4; f. 125v1–3 *ibid.*, p. 51, ll. 16–19; f. 125v3–4 *ibid.*, p. 53, ll. 15–18; f. 125v7–126r1 *ibid.*, p. 54, ll. 2–5; f. 126v5–6, p. 45, ll. 2–4; 127v1 *ibid.*, p. 52, l. 11; f. 127v2 *ibid.*, l. 13; f. 127v5–6 *ibid.*, ll. 15–18; f. 128r7 *ibid.*, p. 46, ll. 4–5; f. 130v2–3 *ibid.*, pp. 46, 18–19, l. 2; f. 130v5–6 *ibid.*, p. 48, ll. 18–12; f. 204v5–205r5 *ibid.*, p. 68, l. 14–69, l. 19.

⁶⁸ *Tantrāloka* *viveka*, concluding verse 36: *apy asya rājatantrā cintayato rājatantram āsta guruḥ | dāśīrājānakajanmā śrīśṛṅgāro mamāpi paramaguruḥ* 'And Śṛṅgāra, son of Rājānaka Dāśī, who was also my Guru's Guru (*paramaguruḥ*), was the Guru in the *Rājatantra* of this [my father when he was] concerned with the king's governance'. The alternative is to take this to mean that Śṛṅgāra taught him the science of governance while he was concerned therewith. But that would be very flat and out of context, especially since Jayaratha declares him his own *paramaguruḥ*. It is more probable that Jayaratha has substituted *Rājatantra* 'the King Tantra' for the usual title *Tantrarāja* 'the King of Tantras' for the sake of a play on words.

⁶⁹ For the full sequence of goddesses that receive oblations in the Kashmirian Śaiva fire-sacrifice see SANDERSON 2002, pp. 22–23, footnote 19. They may be summarized as comprising Durgā forms, the local goddesses (Śārikā, Śāradā, Rājñī, and Jvālāmukhī), Tripurasundarī forms, these Kālīs of the Kālikula, Caṇḍā Kāpālīnī (from the *Picumata*), the Trika's Mālīnī (Pūrvāmnāyeśvarī), Kubjikā (Paścimāmnāyeśvarī), and Lakṣmī forms whose origin is as yet unknown to me. The Paris manuscript of the *Agnikāryapaddhati* has added several goddesses taken from the later East Indian Śākta tradition, such as Tārā/Ekajaṭā (f. 80r5–v2) and Dakṣiṇākālī (f. 81r2–v3).

give the Mantras to be used, both the primary (*mūlamantraḥ*) and the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍ aṅgāni*), while making the oblations into the fire. This required accurate interpretation of the text of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, since that gives the Mantras in a coded form, whereas here they are set out undisguised. Where the source has no suitable visualization text (*dhyānam*) for a goddess, the Paddhatis make good the lack, since the ritual format requires such verses to be recited before the deity is summoned for worship in the fire and in some cases also while making the final oblation (*pūrṇābhutih*).⁷⁰

No comprehensive commentary on this text has survived in Kashmir or elsewhere. But we do have some explicit exegesis, and all of it is demonstrably or probably Kashmirian. We have the *Bhuvanamālinīkalpaviṣamapadavivṛti* of Śrīvatsa, a commentary on the chapter of the fourth *Ṣaṭka* that gives the Kalpa for the worship of Bhuvanamālinī. The worship of this goddess, also known as Dikṣādevī, served among the Śaiva officiants of Kashmir as a brief substitute for the elaborate regular form of Śaiva initiation (*dīkṣā*), to be used in times of

⁷⁰(1) Bhuvanamālinī (Dikṣādevī): *Jayadrathayāmala* (JY), *Ṣaṭka* 4, ff. 162r5–165r6 (*bhuvanamālinīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → *Agnikāryapaddhati* (AKP) Paris (P), f. 64r7–v1; Göttingen ms (G), ff. 28v7–29r2 (contains JY 4, f. 162v4–162v5, vv. 12–14b); *Annapūrapūjāpaddhati*, f. 30v1–9 (contains JY 4, f. 164v5–6, vv. 56c–59b); *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* (KDP) A, ff. 225v14–226v6 (contains the same). (2) Pāpāntakārīṇī: JY 4, ff. 142r4–143r1 (*pāpāntakīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P, f. 64v1–11; AKP G, f. 29r2–8 (contains JY 4, f. 142v3–4); KDP A, ff. 226v15–227r12 (contains JY 4, f. 142v3–4, 4–5, vv. 11, 13–14b). (3) Vidyāvidyeśvarī: JY 2, ff. 106v5–126v6 (*vidyāvidyeśvarīcakravīdhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P, f. 71r4–18; KDP B, f. 2v3; (4) Vāgbhaveśvarī: JY 3, ff. 118r4–121r2 (*vāgbhaveśvīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP G, f. 33v10–12; KDP B, f. 2v3. (5) Vāgīśī: JY 4, ff. 158r5–159v3 (*vāgīśīkālīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P, f. 71r5–6; AKP G, f. 33v11–12; KDP A, ff. 3v11–5r11 (*pustakavāgīśvarīpūjāvidhiḥ*); KDP B, f. 2r4–v19 (same; contains JY 4, f. 209r3–4, r5–v2, *pustakādhikārapaṭalaḥ*, vv. 20c–21, 23–29). (6) Siddhalakṣmī: JY 2, ff. 129r–131v6 → AKP P, ff. 73r5–74r9; AKP G ff. 35r9–36r5; KDP A, ff. 222v8–223v15; and AKP G, f. 37r4–38r6 (*tarpaṇaślokaḥ*, = JY 2, f. 129r2–5 [vv. 2–5]; f. 130r2–4 [vv. 37–42b], and f. 130r–v7 [vv. 43–53b, 64–65b]). (7) Mantramātrkā: JY 3, ff. 69r3–72r4 (*pratyāṅgirāvidhipaṭalaḥ* [9]) → AKP P, f. 74r9–v4; AKP G, f. 36r5–13 (contains JY 3, f. 69r6–7, v. 6 [as *tarpaṇaślokaḥ*], and f. 70v4–5 [as visualization text]); and AKP G, f. 38r7– (*tarpaṇaślokaḥ*, = JY 3, f. 69r6–7, v. 6). (8) Mantraḍamarikā: JY 3, ff. 72r4–75v5 (*pratyāṅgirāvidhipaṭalaḥ* [10]) → AKP P, f. 74v4–18; AKP G, f. 36r14–v8. (9) Saptakoṭīśvarī: JY 4, ff. 178v5–179v4 (last section of the *kuhākādivīdhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P, f. 75r1–15; AKP G, f. 36v8–37r4. (10) Bhāgyādhirohiṇī (Bhāgyakālī): JY 4, ff. 136v5–137v7 (*mahābhāgyodayavidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP P ff. 79v5–80r4; AKP G f. 38v11–16 (contains JY 4, f. 137r4, v. 11 [as *tarpaṇaślokaḥ*], and f. 137r6–v1, vv. 15–18 [as visualization text]). (11) Nityākālī: JY 4, ff. 150r7–151v1 (*nityākālīvidhipaṭalaḥ*) → AKP G f. 40r7–13 (contains JY 4, f. 151r7, v. 12c–13 [as visualization text]).

distress:⁷¹

It may happen that he is unable to perform [the regular] initiation. This may occur if such things as the [necessary] offerings are lacking and if a circumstance such as a national disaster should arise. In that case he should adopt the following procedure. First he should bring fire in the manner taught for the *ṣaḍadhvadikṣā*. Then, after [summoning and presenting the guest offerings to] this Dikṣādevī and gratifying her [in the fire] with a thousand oblations, using her primary Mantra [HŪṢ BHUVANAMĀLINI HRĪṢ], [he should make oblations with] the Mantra for raising up [the soul], namely “OM HŪṢ HĀṢ HĪṢ HŪṢ HAIṢ HAUM HAḤ HŪṢ I perform the raising up of N”. When this has been completed, he should first give the initiand the Mantra of Bhuvanamālinī. The Gurus say that the Mantras of Aghorabhṭṭāraka [= Sakalasvacchanda], Niṣkalasvacchanda], and [Aghoreśvarī] should be bestowed on the initiand after that.⁷²

Concerning its date we can say only that it was written after Utpaladeva (fl. c. 925–975), since it is imbued with the doctrines of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñānārikā* and quotes one of that author’s Śaiva hymns.⁷³ Nothing reveals how soon after his time he wrote, but he is likely to have done so several generations later, since its colophon reports that its author was a descendant in the “great lineage of the learned author Bhṭṭa Divākaravatsa”, who was active around the middle of the tenth century.⁷⁴

⁷¹ *Kalādikṣāvidhi* A, f. 226r14–226v6: *yasya dravyādyabhāve sati deśopaplavādaḥ ca kadācit sati dikṣākrtau śaktir nāsti tasyātrāyaṃ prayogaḥ. prathamam ṣaḍadhvadikṣōktakramenāgnim āniya *śrīdikṣādevīm* (corr. : *śrīdikṣādevīm* Cod.) *etām svamūlamantrenāsyā āhūtisahasreṇa devīm etām samtarpya paścāt OM HŪṢ HĀṢ HĪṢ HŪṢ HAIṢ HAUM HAḤ HŪṢ AMUKASYODDHARAṆAM KAROMI SVĀHĀ ity uddharanamantrah. *evam* (corr. : *eve* Cod.) *krte ādau bhuvanamālinīmantrah śisyāya deyah. tadanantaram aghorabhṭṭārakaśrīniṣkalādayo mantrāḥ śisyasya pratipādyā iti guravaḥ.*

⁷² These other Mantras are specified because they are three principal Mantras of the *Svacchanda*, the source that is the basis of the standard initiation procedure.

⁷³ *Bhuvanamālinīkalpaviṣamapadavivṛti*, f. 13r2–4: *sadā sṛṣṭivīnodāya sadā sthitisukhāsine | sadā tribhuvanāhārātṛptāya svāmine nama* (= *Śivastotrāvalī* 20.9) *iti vidvadvāraṣṭutirūpayā yuktyā*

⁷⁴ *Bhuvanamālinīkalpaviṣamapadavivṛti*, f. 17r1–3 (colophon): *iti śrībhuvanamālinīkalpe viṣamapadavivṛtiḥ sampūrṇā. kṛtiḥ śrīmadbhṭṭaśāstrakaradivākaravatsaprasṛtamahākulaprasū-tadvijavarapaṇḍitaśrīvastasyeti śivam. bhadram paśyema pracarema bhadram.* No manuscript of a work by Bhṭṭa Divākaravatsa has come down to us. But verses from two works of his are preserved in quotations in other works: a philosophico-devotional hymn with the title *Kakṣyāstotra*, of which we have a number of verses (quoted in Bhāgavatopala’s *Spandapradīpikā*, pp. 90, 103; and *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* on *Sūtra* 18)—this reveals him to have been a Pāñcarātriaka

There is also an anonymous *Jayadrathayāmala*prastāramantrasaṃgraha preserved in Nepalese manuscripts. Covering the whole text, it comments on and decodes the passages that set out the Mantras (*mantroddhāraḥ*) of its many Kalpas, and, since in some parts the *Jayadrathayāmala* describes diagrams (*prastāraḥ*) in which the letters of the syllabary are arranged in patterns so that any can be identified cryptically by referring to it as that which is above or below another or between two others, it also provides drawings of these.⁷⁵

The manuscripts of this useful text preface it with the *Tantrarājatantrāvatārastotra*, an elegant hymn by an Ācārya Viśvāvarta,⁷⁶ which summarizes the first *Ṣaṭka*'s account of its place in the Śaiva canon and its differentiation through the process of transmission (*avatāraḥ*) from its transcendental source to mankind, and hymns what it takes to be the principal Kālīs of its four parts: Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī in the first *Ṣaṭka*, Siddhalaṅkṣmī in the second, Sārasakti manifest as the three 1000-syllable Vidyās (Trailokyadāmarā, Matacakreśvarī/Mateśvarī, and Ghoraghoratarā) in the third, and, in the fourth, Sid-

influenced by Kashmirian Śaiva non-dualism—and a *Vivekāñjana*, the opening and closing Pādas of a verse or verses of which have been quoted by Abhinavagupta in *Īśvarapratyabhibhāvīmāṣinī*, vol. 1, p. 10. The approximate limits of his date are established by his knowledge of Kallaṭa (c. 875+), the influence of whose *Spandakārikā* (1.1ab: *yasyaṇmeṣaṇimeṣābhyāṃ jagataḥ pralayodayau*) is evident in the verse of the *Kakṣyāstotra* quoted in *Spandapradīpikā*, p. 90 (*tvadāṣayonmeṣaṇimeṣamātramayau jagatsargalayāv itīdṛk*), and by his works having been cited by Abhinavagupta (dated works 990+) and Bhāgavatotpala. That he was a Pāñcarātrika, like Bhāgavatotpala, is apparent from the verse quoted in the latter's *Spandapradīpikā*, p. 103, which interprets the Pāñcarātrika *śāḍgunyam* and the nature of *avidyā*. Śrīvatsa's short work contains nothing that necessitates the conclusion that its author is identical with the Śrīvatsa who composed the *Cidgaganacandrikā*.

⁷⁵The text as transmitted has no introductory or concluding verses. It begins (A, f. 3v3; B, f. 3v7 [for what precedes see footnote 76]): *oṃ svasti | oṃ namaḥ śivādibhyo gurubhyaḥ | śrījayadrathayāmālāc caturviṃśatisāhasrāt ṣaṭka*catuṣṭayāt* (conj. : *catuṣṭayā* AB) **prastāramantrasaṃgrahaṃ* (em. : *prastāraṃ mantrasaṃgrahaṃ* AB) *likhyate*. The title I have proposed is based on this alone. This is the work given the title *Jayadrathayāmalamantroddhāraṭippaṇī* in SANDERSON 1990, p. 84. That name was taken from the catalogue card accompanying the NGMPP microfilm of manuscript B. It is not found in the text itself, but is probably based on the colophons at the end of the treatment of each *Ṣaṭka*, which refer to what precedes each as the *mantroddhāraṭippakam* on that *Ṣaṭka*. The meaning of *prastāramantrasaṃgrahaḥ* is 'A Digest of the Code-diagrams and Mantras' and of *mantroddhāraṭippaṇī* 'An Annotation of [the Passages Consisting of] the Extraction of Mantras'.

⁷⁶The colophon of Viśvāvarta's hymn (A, f. 3r7–v1: *śrītantrarājatantrāvatārastotram kṛtiḥ śrīmadācāryaviśvāvartapādānām*) is followed by unattributed verses that encode the nine-syllable Vidyā of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī (= *Devīdyardhaśatikā*, f. 8v2–4 [vv. 88–91b]). The *Jayadrathayāmala*prastāramantrasaṃgraha then begins as stated in footnote 75.

dhayogeśvarī and the Krama's culminating circle (*śāktam cakram*) of the thirteen Kālīs, twelve surrounding and mirroring their source.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ *Tantrarājatantrāvatārstotra* A, f. 2v7–3r7; B, f. 3r4–v6 (vv. 21–27 [last verse]): *bibharti bhedāms' caturo 'vatārapravṛttikālikramasamhṛtīnām | catuṣṭayenākhilatūṣṭaye yaḥ śrītantrarājam tam ahaṃ prapadye |* 22 **śrīmadbhairavato 'dhigamya* (em. : *bhairavatādhigamya* AB) *vidhivad devī *sarasvaty alam* (em. : *saratyaṃla* AB) *yām tārksyāya jagāda so 'pi bhagavacchukrāya yām *abhyadhāt* (B : *abhyadhān* A) *| dattā tena mayāya martyahitakṛt prākṣkandham āśritya yā vidyā saptadaśākṣarā jayati sā śrīkālasamkarṣaṇī |* 23 *yaḥ pārvatīpatihimādrisutādaśāsyasindhukṣitīśvaravarakramato 'vatīrṇaḥ | *skandham* (corr. : *skandha* A) *dvitīyam avalambya rahasyabhedo vidyāprapañcanicitāḥ sa jayaty anantaḥ |* 24 *jayati sakalasampadvāmanāmānusāriprakatitaśubhasiddhiḥ sadguruvyaktaśuddhiḥ | vividhaviditavidyāratnakośāgamāgryaprasṛtasitapatākāvibhramā *siddhalakṣmīḥ* (A : *siddhilakṣmīḥ* B) *| 25 ugraṃ śāntaṃ tadubhayaṃ iti tryātmakaṃ yatsvarūpaṃ tistro vidyāḥ sthitim upagatās tāḥ sahasrārṇa*mānāḥ* (A : *mānāḥ* B) *| vācyam tāsām mahitamahasām bhāti devitrayam *yat tasyāḥsongaḥ†* (*yadyasyāḥsongaḥ* A : *yadyasyāḥsyerkūḥ* B) *khalu vijayate kāpi sārākhyāśaktiḥ |* 26 *ṣaṭcakraḍikulaṣṭhiti-prakatāni *ṣaṭkoṇacakraḍarād yā ṣaṭkāraṇabhedinī* (A : *ṣaṭkoṇacakra* [...] *bhedinī* B) *samuditā ṣaḍbodha*sambodhinī* (B : *sambodhanī* A) *| ṣaṇmudrārūcīrā ṣaḍadhvajananī ṣaḍgunyapūrṇākramā | vande tāṃ samayapūraṇaparāṃ *śrīsiddhayogeśvarīm* (A : *śrīsiddhilakṣmīśvarīm* B) *| 27 yasyāvāritavīryam ṣaḍvivaritāḥ†*sargāntam* (A : *svargāntam* B) *ā sargato bhogaṃ dātum udātta eva mahimā devīpadaprāptidaḥ | dhatte yan mukurāvalivyatīkaravyaktaikavaktropamām śāktam cakram apakramaṃ paramayā devyā *tad iddham numāḥ* (em. : *tad iddham namaḥ* A : *tadivyaṃmamāḥ* B). The four divisions of v. 21 are the text's four parts of 6000 verses each (*ṣaṭkāni*), assigned here to the four phases of the Krama in the order *pravṛttiḥ* (= *sṛṣṭikramaḥ*), *avatārah* (= *sthitikramaḥ*), *samhṛtiḥ* (= *samhārakramaḥ*), and *kālikramaḥ* (= *anākhyakramaḥ*), the order of enunciation in the verse being for the metre. The two divisions (*prākṣkandhaḥ* and *dvitīyaskandhaḥ*) of vv. 22 and 23 are the first *Ṣaṭka* and the rest respectively, the former, originally a self-contained work on the cult of Kālasamkarṣaṇī, and the latter a supplementary collection of Kalpas (procedures for the worship) of numerous ancillary Mantra-goddesses (*vidyāḥ*) of a more esoteric, Kaula character (v. 23: *rahasyabhedo vidyāprapañcanicitāḥ*). The Kalpa of Siddhalakṣmī (v. 24) is at the end of the second *Ṣaṭka* (ff. 129r1–132v3). The Kalpas of the three goddesses described here as the aspects of a single 'Sārasākti' (v. 25), are in *Ṣaṭka* 3: that of Trailokaḍāmarā is chapters 2–7 (ff. 5v4–69r3), that of Matacakreśvarī/Mateśvarī is chapters 11–14 (ff. 75v5–107v1), and that of Ghoraghoratarā is chapters 17–23 (ff. 121r2–169r8). The Kalpa of Siddhayogeśvarī 'for rectifying defects in one's observance' (v. 26: *samayapūraṇaparā*) is chapter [80] (ff. 215r7–219v6) of the fourth *Ṣaṭka*. The *śāktam cakram* [of the thirteen Kālīs] (v. 27) is taught in chapter [4] of the same (*Kālikramavidhi*) (ff. 57v2–61v5). Viśvāvarta's comparison of this circle to a single face reflected in [twelve] mirrors is based on vv. 67c–68 of this chapter (f. 60r5–6): *dhyātvā svadhāmni *vitate* (em. : *vitato* Cod. : *vitata* qu. in *Jayadrathayāmala-prastāramantrasaṃgraha* [JYP] ms A) *pūjanīyātha maṇḍale | tadvad devyaḥ prapūjyaiva dhyeyāḥ sarvāḥ yathārthavat | pratibhedagatā saikā devadevī karaṇikīṇi*. The Maṇḍala here is a circle surrounded by twelve others within a four-doored square (ff. 59v2–3): *samlīkhyā maṇḍalaṃ devī *bhramadvādaśasammitam* (*bhrama* qu. in JYPms A, f. 57v4 : *mahā* Cod.) *| madhye trayodaśaṃ kāryaṃ rāśivārṇasamanvitam | raktena rajasā devī *caturlekham*

Though these two texts have come down to us, like the *Jayadrathayāmala* itself, only in Nepalese manuscripts, it is probable that they too were composed in Kashmir. In the case of the hymn this is indicated by the author's name. Names ending in -āvarta, -varta, -āvaṭṭa, or -vaṭṭa are a Kashmirian peculiarity, and that beginning with Viśva- is common.⁷⁸ That the -*prastāramantrasaṃgraha* too is Kashmirian is suggested not merely by its transmission with the hymn of Viśvāvarta but also by the fact that it quotes the *Spandakārikā* of the Kashmirian Kallaṭa.⁷⁹

To these sources we can add an unattributed inclusion and brief explanation of five verses from the chapter of the fourth *Ṣaṭka* on sixteen centres in the meditator's body found in the *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya* (A), a short Kashmirian treatise of unknown authorship and date on this and other series of such centres.⁸⁰

Finally, a section of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, though it is a work of the Trika, is a Paddhati based on the *Mādhavakula*. That too, as Jayaratha asserts and the Nepalese manuscripts confirm, is part of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s fourth *Ṣaṭka*.⁸¹ Jayaratha justifies its inclusion in this text on the Trika by saying that

(qu. in JYPms A, f. 57v5 : *caturlekhyam* Cod.) *prapūrayet | caturdvārasamāyuktam tatra pūjyam kramottamam.*

⁷⁸I am aware of eleven other Kashmirians bearing such names: (1) Takṣakavarta, author of the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*; (2–3) two Rayāvaṭṭas (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 7.1480 [a brahmin] and 8.322 [a lamp-bearer]); (4) Nāgavaṭṭa (*ibid.*, 8.664 [a military commander and son of a Kāyastha]); (5) Loṣṭāvaṭṭa (*ibid.*, 7.1295 [a soldier]); (6) Madhurāvaṭṭa (*ibid.*, 7.766 [a cavalry commander]); (7) Viśvāvarta, who named the hymns redacted by Rāma and Ādityarāja from Utpaladeva's *Śivastotrāvalivivṛti*, p. 2; (8) a Śakta Viśvāvarta, pupil of Īśvaraśiva (Jayaratha, *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 36); (9) Viśvavarta, the father of Mañkha (*Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* 3.35; there the metre requires the second vowel to be short; but in the colophon of the 25th Sarga he is Viśvāvarta: *śrīrājānakaviśvāvartasūnor mahākaviśrīrājānakamañkhakasya*); and (10–11) two Viśvāvaṭṭas (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 7.337 [a brahmin], 7.617 etc.).

⁷⁹*Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha* A, f. 17r2–5, B, f. 18r1–5: *bhāsvārūpā prakāśa-mayī prāṇāpānarūpā vyākhyātā. niṣkalā prāṇāpānakalāmadhyodaye somasūryayor bhakṣaṇārtham *yadā* (conj. : *yātā* AB) *gatā tadā sā kālagrāsaikaghasmarety uktā. tad uktam: "yām avasthām samālambya yad ayaṃ mama *vaksyati* (B : *vaksyate* A) | **tad avasīyam* (em. : *tadāvasīyam* AB) **kariṣye 'ham* (em. : *kariṣye tam* AB) *iti saṃkalpya tiṣṭhati | *tām* (em. : *tam* AB) *āśrityo-rdhvamārgeṇa candrasūryāv ubhāv api | sauṣumṇe 'dhvany *astam ito* (em. : *astamite* AB) *hitvā brahmāṇḍagocaram | tadā tasmin mahāvymni pralīnaśaśibhāskare | sauṣuptapadavan mūḍhaḥ prabuddhaḥ syād *anāvṛtaḥ* (em. : *anāvṛtam* AB)" *ity arthaḥ.* The passage quoted is *Spandakārikā* 1.23–25 in Kṣemarāja's numeration.

⁸⁰*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 113v4–7, *kālikule kālikramabhedah*, vv. 1–8 → *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya* A, f. 2r19–v7 (vv. 30–35). The prose commentary follows: ff. 2v7–3r18.

⁸¹The Paddhati is *Tantrāloka* 29.56–77. The source is *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, ff. 117v5–135v2 (*kālikulapaṭalaḥ*). Abhinavagupta himself does not mention that it is and since the *Jayad-*

there were Gurus in Kashmir whose tradition combined the teachings of the *Mādhavakula* with those of the *Devyāyāmala*,⁸² a Trika scripture that no doubt lent itself to this fusion since it teaches the worship of the Kālikula's Kāla-saṃkarṣaṇī as a fourth goddess transcending the Trika's three and, like this *Ṣaṭka*, was probably Kashmirian.⁸³

rathayāmala suggests that it has incorporated the *Mādhavakula* it is conceivable that Abhinavagupta knew this Kālikula scripture in an independent form (see SANDERSON 2002, p. 2, and notes 11 to 14). The work is introduced at the end of the preceding Paṭala (f. 117v3–4): *etat kulakramam sarvam mahāmādhavake kule | vadiśyāmi punar bhadre tava mandaramūrdhani | vistareṇātirabhasā* (t) 'On a future occasion, on the summit of the Mandara mountain, I shall eagerly tell you at length this whole procedure of Kaula worship in the *Mahāmādhavakula*'. The opening of the dialogue at the beginning of our text is as follows (ff. 117v6–118r): *kathayasva mahādeva sūcitam yat tvayādhunā | *tantram* (em. : *tatvam* Cod.) *tan mādhanakulam vaktavyam tatra *bhairava* (em. : *bhairavi* Cod.) | *saṃkṣepeṇa samākhyāhi tantre 'smin sarahasyakam | yena saṃpūrṇatā *cāsyā* (em. : *vāsyā* Cod.) **tantrasya bhavati* (em. : *tantrasya bhagavati* Cod.) *prabho | śrībhairava uvāca: śṛṇuṣva kathayīśyāmi tantrarājasya madhyataḥ | yathā tan mādhanakulam vaktavyam mandaropari* 'Tell me now, O Mahādeva, the Tantra *Mādhavakula* that you will teach me there, O Bhairava. Explain it to me, O Lord, together with its secret teachings in a short form within this Tantra so that that may be complete. Bhairava replied: Hear, I shall [indeed] teach [you] within [this] *Tantrarāja* about the *Mādhavakula* that I shall teach you on Mandara'. At the end of the chapter Bhairava says (f. 135r7–v1): *evam samāsataḥ proktaṃ tantre 'smin tava śobhane | etad eva hi saṃkṣepān mandarāgre ca mūrdhani | bhūyo vakyāmi subhage mahāmādhavake kule | kālikulam idaṃ guhyam mukhapāramparāgatam* 'Thus, O fair one, I have taught you this within this Tantra in summary form, in few words. On the summit of Mandara, in the *Mahāmādhavakula*, O beautiful one, I shall teach you again this secret Kālikula that has come down through oral transmission.'

⁸² *Tantrāloka* viveka on 29.56: *atra hi keśaṃcana gurūṇām śrīdevyāyāmalaśrīmādhavakulārthasammelanayā sampradāyaḥ samasti*.

⁸³ My reason for proposing that the *Devyāyāmala* is Kashmirian is as follows. Several Śaiva scriptures rule that one should not engage a Śaiva officiant of any of eight countries whose names begin with the letter K. In an unidentified non-Saiddhāntika scripture quoted by the Saiddhāntika Jñānaśiva they are Kāśmīra, Kosala, Kāñcī, Kāliṅga, Kāmarūpa, Kāveri, Koṅkaṇa, and Kaccha (*Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 314): *kāśmīrakauśalāḥ kāñcīkalīṅgāḥ kāmarūpajāḥ | kāverīkoṅkaṇodbhūtā *kacchadeśasamudbhavāḥ* (*kaccha* em. : *kañca* Cod.) | *tathānye 'pi *surāṣṭrīyāḥ* (conj. : *surāṣṭrīyā* Cod.) **kusaṅgā uñchavṛttayāḥ* (conj. : *kuśasaṅgacchavṛttayāḥ* Cod.) | *vīprādivarnāś catvāro gurutve nādhikāriṇaḥ*; and the same eight are given in the *Piṅgalāmata*, f. 5r7–v1: *kapūrvāṣṭavīnirmuktau anyadeśodbhavāv api | *kāmarūkaccha-kāśmīrau* (*kāmarūkaccha* em. : *kāmarūpaccha* Cod.) *kāliṅgau koṅkaṇodbhavau | kāñcīkosala*kāverīrāṣṭrajāu* (*kāverī* em. : *kāveryau* Cod.) *api varjayet*. There are duals here because the text applies this restriction to both Gurus and Sādhakas. The Kāmarū (= Kāmarūpa) of my emendation *kāmarūkaccha-* is also seen in the *Kulakṛīḍāvatāra* as quoted in *Tantrāloka* viveka, vol. 11, *Āhnika* 29, p. 29, l. 14 (*varadevasya kāmarū*) and is supported by Chinese *kemolou* and the traveller Ibn Battuta's Kāmrū/Kāmrū/Kāmrūn (see PELLLOT 1904, pp. 181–82). Now, the

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Of the other Kālikula scriptures to which Kashmirian authors bear witness, the *Kālikulapañcāśataka* and the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva* are the principal scriptural authorities of the Krama. The *Jayadrathayāmala* contains Krama materials and presents them as the Kālikula's most fundamental teachings, but they are embedded there in a mass of Kalpas of the common Mantramārgic type.⁸⁴ Here the Krama alone is presented, and this was no doubt also the case in the lost *Devisārdhaśataka*, as it is in the *Devīdyardhaśatikā* and *Yonigahvara*. These texts are focused on setting out the Mantras, deities, and offerings of the successive phases of Krama worship and they differ in fundamental respects from the Mantramārgic standard. They teach no rituals of initiation and consecration—the post-scriptural Krama tradition envisaged initiation through the simple act of consuming a sacrament in the form of the Kaula 'nectars' (*caruprāśanam*)—,⁸⁵ no hand-postures (*Mudrās*), no visualizations of the constituent deities' forms, no fire-sacrifice, and none of the elaborate ascetic observances (*kaṣṭasādhnam*) characteristic of the Mantramārgic Kalpas of the *Jayadrathayāmala*. Moreover, the texts are presented as instruction given by the Goddess Bhairavī to Bhairava, in an inversion of the normal gender of teacher

Devyāyāmala too has a list of eight countries beginning with K whose Gurus are to be avoided. It is as in the first two sources quoted here with the difference that it drops Kāśmīra and inserts Karnāṭa in its place (*Tantrāloka* v. 23.14): *kāñcikosalakarnāṭāḥ kalingāḥ kāmārūpajāḥ | kunikuṇodbbhavakāverikacchadeśasamudbhavāḥ | ete varjyāḥ*, a revision most likely to be the work of a Kashmirian. A similar manipulation is seen in the version of the list of the eight Ks given in the Saiddhāntika *Vijayatantra* quoted in the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, *Kriyāpāda* 11, pp. 96, l. 25–97, l. 1: *karnāṭakakalingākhyakacchakāśmīravāsināḥ | koṇkaṇāḥ karahātās ca kāmbojāḥ kāmārūpiṇāḥ | kakārāṣṭakasamjñās te deśā deśikavarjitāḥ*. Since this is probably a work of the Tamil country it is striking that it has dropped Kāñcī and Kāverī, which encompass that region.

⁸⁴In the *Jayadrathayāmala* Krama teachings are found in the second *Ṣaṭka* in the Kalpa of Vīryakālī (ff. 96v8–100r9), in the third in the consecutive *avyapadeśyakālividhiḥ*, *devīśvarūpanirūpaṇavidhiḥ*, and *devīkramapaṭalaḥ* (ff. 215r6–226r3), and in the fourth in the *kālikramavidhiḥ* (ff. 57v2–61v5), and the consecutive *sāmbakramavidhibhedāḥ*, *nirāmbakramapūjavidhipaṭalaḥ*, *ādyayāgavidhikramārthapūjāpaṭalaḥ*, and *vīratāṇḍavavidhikramajñānapaṭalaḥ* (ff. 200v7–208r6). Initiation before the Maṇḍala of the thirteen Kālīs (1+12) is taught here in the *kālikramavidhiḥ*. It is this set of identical Kālīs that Viśvāvarta hymns in the last verse of his *Tantrarājatantrāvatārstotra*, implying that the teachings of the Tantra culminate here (27cd: *dhatte yan mukurāvalivyatikaravyaktaikavaktropamām śāktam cakram apakramam paramayā devyā tad iddham numah* 'I sing the praise of the sequence-transcending circle of powers animated by the supreme Goddess that resembles a single face appearing in contact with a series of mirrors').

⁸⁵For the identification of these substances and their role in this initiatory trial of non-dual awareness see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 110–114 (footnote 63).

and pupil in the non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva dialogues, formulating for his benefit a secret oral tradition concealed in the innermost awareness of the Yoginīs of Uḍḍiyāna, the Pīṭha of the North (*uttarapīṭhaḥ*), on the occasion of their assembling there in the Karavīra cremation ground to worship her.⁸⁶

In the North is the great Pīṭha called Oḍḍiyāna, the best all Pīṭhas, the resort of Siddhas and Yoginīs. In this fair and excellent Pīṭha is the Karavīra cremation ground. ... In this fearsome cremation ground thronged by great Bhairavas ... in this most fearsome circle thronged with great Mātṛs rests the supreme goddess Kālī in the limit of the state of self-awareness, standing on Bhairava, devouring the power of Mahākālā, void in form, infinite, with eight embodiments, auspicious, adorned by fifty Rudras and attended by sixty-four [Yoginīs]. Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva Mahādeva, and Bhairava, the seventh, are ever present in their entirety as the 'dead' [i.e., as the transcended deities that form the throne] of that Goddess.⁸⁷ ... Bhairava said [to her]: O Goddess, Why

⁸⁶ *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 1r4–5 (1.1–2): *śrīmaduttaradigbhāge pīṭhaṃ pīṭhavarāṃ mahat | *oḍḍiyānābhīdhānam tu* (em. : *oḍḍiyānābhīdhānan te* Cod.) *siddhayoginisevitam | tasmin pīṭha*vare* (em. : *vane* Cod.) *ramye śmaśānam karavīrakam*; f. 1r9 (1.9ab), f. 1v1–3 (1.17–20): 9 *tasmin pīṭhane ghore mahābhairavasamkule |17 tasmimś cakre mahāghore *mahāmātṛbhi* (corr. [Aiśa] : *mahāmātṛbhiḥ* Cod.) *saṃkule | svavimarśadaśāntasthā tiṣṭhate paramēśvarī | 18 kālī tu bhairavārūdhā mahākālakalāśinī | vyomarūpā anantākhyā aṣṭamūrtidharā śivā | 19 pañcāśadrudrakacitā *catuṣṣaṣṭisevitā* (conj. : *catuṣṣaṣṭisevitā* Cod.) *| indro brahmā tathā viṣṇu rudra īśvara eva ca | 20 sadāśivo *mahādeva* (conj. : *mahādevyā* Cod.) *bhairavaś caiva saptamaḥ | pretatve saṃsthitā nityaṃ tasyā devyās tu sarvataḥ*; f. 2r6–8 (1.42c–44b): *śrībhairava uvāca: asmin pīṭhe mahāvīra(vīra) vīravīrais tu saṃkule | 43 kimartham āgatāḥ sarve *catuṣṣaṣṭir* (corr. : *catuṣṣaṣṭi* Cod.) *mahābalāḥ | yoginīvīravīreśyo vīrajāḥ paramēśvarī | 44 *tvadārādhanaśaṃsaktā* (em. : *tvayārādhanaśaṃsaktā* Cod.) **mahāyāgendrasotsukāḥ* (em. : *mahāyogendrasotsukāḥ* Cod.); f. 2r11–12 (1.49c–51b): *prcchāmi paramaṃ devī svavimarśabalena tu | 50 *agragās tu parāḥ devyāḥ* (corr. : *agragā tu parā devyā* Cod.) *saṃhārakaraṇa*ṣamāḥ* (corr. : *ṣamā* Cod.) *| sarvās tās tu mahābhāgāḥ *svecchayā* (em. : *svacchayā* Cod.) **viśvabhakṣikāḥ* (em. : *viśvabhakṣakī* Cod.) *| 51 tathāpi hr̥dgataṃ tāsāṃ* (corr. : *tāsā* Cod.) *praśnam asti *mahādhiye* (conj. [Aiśa] : *mahādhiya* Cod.) *| guptaṃ tu paramaṃ divyaṃ *kimartham suravandite* (conj. [or *vīravandite*] : *kimarthanacavandite* Cod.); f. 2v10–3r2 (1.67c–72b): *atyantamohajālena veṣṭito 'haṃ tu *sundari* (corr. : *sundarī* Cod.) *| 68 mamārthe 'nugrahaṃ samyak kuru tattvena *bhāmini* (corr. : *bhāminī* Cod.) *| vadasva paramaṃ guhyam apratarkyaṃ aninditam | 69 yoginīhṛdayāvasthaṃ prakṛtaṃ kuru *śaṅkari* (corr. : *saṃkari* Cod.) *| tithivelāvinirmuktaṃ deśakālādivarjitam | 70 sthānaśaṃketakair muktam nakṣatrais ca grahais tathā | mudrāmantravinirmuktaṃ rajoraṅgādibhis tathā | 71 akṣatais ca tilair nityam agnikarṇaṃ varjitam | āhvānādivinirmuktaṃ vratacaryādikais tathā | 72 recakaiḥ pūrakais caiva kumbhakais ca viśeṣataḥ.*

⁸⁷ Cf. *Kālikulapañcāśataka A*, f. 1v3–4 (1.3): *śrīmaduttarapīṭhasya śmaśān[am karavī]rakam | pūjitaṃ devadevena śivena paramātmanā*; f. 1v5 (1.7–8b): *tatrasthā bhairavī bhīmā sthūlasu-ṣmānuvartinī | pīṭheśvaribhiḥ saṃyuktā siddhais ca parivāritā | mahānandasamāviṣṭā mahā-*

have all the sixty-four Vira-born mighty Vīravīreśīs among the Yoginīs come to this Pīṭha thronged with Mahāvīras and the foremost of Vīras, devoted to your propitiation and eager to celebrate the Great Sacrifice? ...I ask about the ultimate, O Goddess, through the power of my self-awareness. Standing before [us] are all the greatest and most venerable goddesses, capable of withdrawing [the world], who devour all things by their will [alone]. Yet, wise one, the [answer to my] question still hides within their hearts. O you who are venerated by the gods, why have they continued to conceal the ultimate celestial [secret]? ...O beautiful one, I am enveloped by a net of total delusion. O radiant [goddess], truly show your favour for my sake. Tell me the perfect, unthinkable, ultimate secret. Make plain, O Śaṅkarī, what remains hidden in the heart of the Yoginīs, [the practice] that is free of [restriction by] lunar day and [auspicious] hour, without [specified] place or time, free of the conventions of [sacred] sites, without Mudrās and Mantras, the coloured powders [of the initiation Maṇḍala] and all other [paraphernalia of ritual], the fire-sacrifice and [oblations of] unhusked grains and sesame seeds, the summoning [of the deities] and other [ritual forms], the post-initiatory ascetic observance and other [ancillary practices], above all free of the exhalations, inhalations and retentions [of breath-restraint].

The Krama teaching is seen as the explication of the dynamic structure of the ultimate reality embodied and made manifest in that sacrificial assembly, and the process of Krama worship is seen as the means of realizing it through re-enactment.⁸⁸

No commentaries on these texts survive, and we have no evidence that any existed,⁸⁹ but there is nonetheless a rich body of texts based upon them in

ghorogranāśanī 'The cremation ground of the northern Pīṭha is the Karavīra, venerated by the supreme soul Śiva, the god of the gods. In it is fearsome Bhairavī, who permeates the gross and the subtle, accompanied by the Pīṭheśvarīs and surrounded by Siddhas, immersed in absolute bliss, the destroyer of Mahāghorogra[bhairava]'.

⁸⁸The notion that the programme of worship re-enacts the primal sacrifice is also implied in related Kālikula scriptural sources. We see it in the *Mahākaravīrayāga* (f. 1v1–2 [1.1–2]): *mahāsiddhasamākīrṇe (mahāsiddha em. : mahāsiddhi Cod.) śmaśāne karavīrake | *mahāvṛndamahāsphāre (sphāre conj. : sphāra Cod.) prakāśānandakojjvale | *nirvartite (em. : nivvatyate) mahācakre yāge tridaśādāmāre | sāmāsyasthitam devam prcchate kulāsundarī; in the *Tridaśādāmāra* (B, f. 1v3–5 [81.5–6]): pūrvam gauri mahāghore śmaśāne karavīrake | āraḍhito 'ham devībhīr yāge saṃpūjanāya ca | tvam *corusaṃsthām (coru A [cf. B, f. 2r2–3 (81.13c): ūrum paśyāmi tvacchūnyam] : cāru B) kṛtvā tu yātas tatra varānane | catuḥṣaṣṭis tu *yāḥ koṭyaḥ (conj. : yā koṭyā B : ye koṭyā A) śākinyādyā mahābalāḥ | yajñabhāgam prayacchanti carum kṛtvā svabāndhavān; in the Śivarātri aetiology of the *Dūtīdāmāra* and the Kashmirian sources presented in SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 285–288; and in the *Ḍāmaramaṇḍala* (*ḍāmarayāgaḥ*) of the *Devīyāmala* (see *Tantrāloka* 3.70cd; 15.335cd; 13.351cd; 30.54c–55b; and 31.100cd).

⁸⁹Jayaratha refers to the interpretation of two verses of the first by an Ojarāja, otherwise unknown, saying that his reading of the text at this point is incorrect (*Tantrāloka* 3.70cd; 15.335cd; 13.351cd; 30.54c–55b; and 31.100cd).

the form of esoteric hymns and treatises setting out the course of the Krama's meditative worship composed by Gurus in the lineage of this tradition. The earliest of them is Jñānanetra[nātha], also known as Śivānanda[nātha]. It was believed that he had received the Krama revelation in Uddiyāna directly from its Yoginīs, known as the Pīṭheśvarīs,⁹⁰ or from their leader (*cakranāyikā*) Maṅgalā, also called Vīrasimhā Svāminī,⁹¹ and all Krama authors who speak of their lineage trace it back to him.⁹² Jayaratha calls him the Promulgator

The two verses quoted are a variant of *Kālikulapañcaśataka* A, f. 12r4–5 (3.29–30): *amṛtārṇam tu brahmārṇam tripiṇḍam brahma satparam | sā devī sa śivas tu ca viśva(m) tasyānyavistarah | granthakoṭisahasrāṇām etat sārām vicintayet | prabhāvo 'sya na śakyeta vaktum kalpāyutair api*. Perhaps Ojarāja was following this reading.

⁹⁰ *Tantrāloka* v. 3, p. 19, ll. 7–8, quoting Abhinavagupta's *Kramakeli*: *pīṭheśvarībhyā *uttarapīṭhe* (em. : *uttarapīṭha* Ed.) *labdhopadeśāc chrīśivānandāt*.... On the Pīṭheśvarīs as transmitters of revelation see also footnotes 87 on p. 263, 312 on p. 328, 330 on p. 335, 364 on p. 345, 374 on p. 347, and 376 on p. 348.

⁹¹ Arṇasimha, *Mahānaya* prakāśa, f. 117v2–3 (v. 136): *ayaṁ* (em. : *idaṁ* Cod.) *śrīvīrasimhākhyasvāminyā samprakāśitah | śrījñānanetra[nāthasya vṛndacakrodayah parah; Mahānaya* prakāśa (Triv.) 7.86ab: *vīrasimhāsanastheyam devī paramamaṅgalā*.

⁹² There is an exception in a section of the composite *Yonigahvara*. Though that text attributes its revelation to Jñānanetra this part, written in a lower register of Sanskrit than the rest, claims to have been put together by one Oghānanda, who received the teaching from a Yoginī called Rūpānandā, who had received it from Vīrasimhā Svāminī (ff. 34v3–35r2 [492–496]): *saṃyak mahāśāsanasaṃpradāyaṃ pūjākathāsaṃkramapūrvam evaṃ | saṃprāpya kaulottarasārabbhūtam abhūtapūrvam atha *kāraṇādeḥ* (conj. : *kāraṇādīm* Cod.) | 493 *devī śrīvīrasimhākhyā* (corr. : *saṃhākhyā* Cod.) *svāminī *prasphuṭā* (corr. : *prasphaṭā* Cod.) *bhuvī | tatpādapadmayugalāt prāptam caiva mahānayaṃ | 494 *śrīrūpānandābbhidhā* (em. : *śrīrūpānandavidhā* Cod.) *devī dattam tasya prasādāt | tayā dattam svasīsyasya oghānandābbhidhānataḥ | 495 dattam parāmṛtarasam mahāśāsanam uttamam | tenedaṃ racitam sarvaṃ yathāprāptam *guror* (conj. : *gurur* Cod.) *mukhāt | 496 saṃpradāyaṃ *susambandham* (conj. : *susambadham* Cod.) *sarahaṣyaṃ mukhāgamam | racitam guruvākyena svasaṃtānahitāya ca* 'Having thus duly received the unprecedented tradition of the Great Teaching that is the essence of the Kaula Uttar[āmnāy]a from the first of the Cause-deities through worship, oral instruction, and direct transmission, the holy Vīrasimhasvāminī became visible on earth. From the two lotuses that were her feet the holy Rūpānandā received the Great Teaching, given by her favour. She gave the supreme Great Teaching that contains the joy of the highest nectar to her disciple Oghānanda; and he composed all this exactly as he had received it from his Guru. At his Guru's command he composed the well-constructed tradition, the oral transmission with its secrets, for the benefit of his spiritual descendants'. The Sanskrit of this passage is exceptional for its use of nom./acc. sg. neuter of the past participle passive as an active verbal predicate with past sense; see also here f. 36v5: *tad eva cakram tu punar dṛṣṭam devī* 'Once again the Goddess beheld that same circle'; f. 37r1–2: **punar ūrdhvaṃ* (corr. : *punaḥ ūrddha* Cod.) **nirīkṣantī* (corr. : *nirīkṣanti* Cod.) *dṛṣṭam anyam kutūhalam* 'Gazing up again, she saw another wonder'. This construction is common in late Buddhist Sanskrit.

(*avatāraṇātha*),⁹³ and this term indicates that he saw him as having received and propagated the Krama scriptures themselves. For the term *avatāraṇa* is used to denote a divine or semi-divine promulgator of scripture throughout the Śaiva Mantramārga and Jayaratha uses the same expression when referring to Macchandanātha,⁹⁴ saying that he was the *avatāraṇa* of the Kula teachings in the Pīṭha Kāmarūpa in the present Kali Age after receiving them directly from Bhairavī.⁹⁵ Only one of the Krama scriptures, the *Yonigahvara*, claims that it was revealed by Jñānanetra,⁹⁶ but it is probable that the same claim was made for the *Kālikulapañcaśataka* and *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*. For the chapter colophons of both say that they emerged in the Pīṭha of the North and were promulgated by the venerable Nātha (Śrīnātha).⁹⁷ This too is an epithet of Jñānanetra in the literature of the Krama:⁹⁸

⁹³ *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 195, ll. 1–2: *śrīmadavatāraṇāthena*; p. 197, ll. 8–9: *śrīmad-avatāraṇāthasyāpi*.

⁹⁴ Macchanda is also known as Matsyendra, Macchaghna, and Mīnanātha. The name Macchaghna means ‘fisherman’ (← OIA *matsyaghna*) and Macchanda is probably derived from the MIA synonym *macchamḍha*- (← *macchabamḍha*-). Matsyendra can be explained as a false Sanskritization of Macchanda and Mīnanātha as a synonym of Matsyendra.

⁹⁵ *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 1, p. 24, ll. 7–12: *kulaprakriyāyāḥ prakriyāntarebhyāḥ prādhānyād “bhairavyā bhairavāt prāptaṃ yogam *prāpya (em. : vyāpya Ed.) tataḥ priye | tatsakāśāt tu siddhena mīnākhyena varānane | kāmarūpe mahāpīṭhe macchandena mahātmanā” ityādinirūpitasthityā tadavatāraṇam turyanātham eva tāvat prathamam kīrtayati* ‘Because the Kaula system is superior to all others he refers first to the Nātha of the Fourth [Age], who promulgated it, as taught in such passages as “Beloved, the [corpus that teaches the Kaula] Yoga was received in its entirety by Bhairavī from Bhairava, and then from her by the great Siddha Macchanda, known as Mīna[nātha], in the great Pīṭha of Kāmarūpa”. Colophons of scriptures of the Kula do indeed refer to them as promulgated by him: e.g. (1) *Kulapañcāśikā*, f. 6v5 (end): *iti kulapañcāśikāyāḥ śrīmanmats(y)end(r)apādāvatāre*; (2) *Guhyasiddhi*, f. 20r6–7: *śrīmacchagnapādāvatārite śrīkāmākhyāvinirgataḥ guhyasiddhiḥṣaṣṭhamah paṭala(h)*; (3) *Ūrmikaulārṇava A*, f. 27r7–9: *iti *śrīnilatantre (nīla em. : nīra A) śrīmadūrmikaulārṇave mahāśāstre lakṣapādoddhṛte paramarahasye śrībhogahastakramāmnāye śrīkaulagiripīṭhavinirgate śrīmīnanāthāvatārite ṣaṭṣatādhikaśate kulakaulanirṇaye karmakośavicāro nāma tṛtīya(h) paṭalaḥ*; (4) *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, p. 80: *iti jñānanirṇaye mahāyoginīkaule śrīmatsyendrapādāvatārite candradvīpavinirgate trayaviṃśatitamaḥ paṭalaḥ*; and (5) *Kulānanda*, p. 113: *matsyendrapādāvatāritam kulānandam*.

⁹⁶ *Yonigahvara*, f. 1v2–3 (vv. 1–2): *śrīmaduttarapīṭhe tu śmaśāne karavīrake | sarvayoginimelāpe [+ + + + ni]rāmaye | 2 yonigahvaram uddhṛtya mantrasadbhāvam uttamam | śrījñānanetranāthena bhūtale samprakāśitam*.

⁹⁷ *Kālikulapañcaśataka* colophons: *śrīmaduttarapīṭhodbhūte śrīśrīnāthāvatārite śrīkālīkākule pañcaśate*; *Kālikulakramasadbhāva* colophons: *śrīmaduttarapīṭhavinirgate śrīnāthapādāvatārite śrīkālīkākulasadbhāve*.

⁹⁸ Old Kashmiri *Mahānaya*prakāśa 3.9: *nāthe *panavapīṭha (em. : pavanapīṭha Ed.) *ādiṣṭe (em. : ādiṣṭo Ed.) | bahi andara paramāthuka *mona (em. : mauna Ed.) | avatāre bhūtadayāviṣṭe (em. : bhūtadayāviṣṭo Ed.) | so-ye kamasamudāyu vamonā*.

The Nātha after being taught in the Praṇavapīṭha (Oḍḍiyāna) was filled with compassion for living beings and as the promulgator emitted the internal and external silence of ultimate reality as the corpus of the Krama.⁹⁹

Uḍḍiyāna and Kashmir

Uḍḍiyāna, also written Oḍḍiyāna, U/Oḍiyāna, U/Oḍyāna, and U/Oḍḍayana, was the petty kingdom known to the Chinese as Wuzhangna (Jap. Ujōna) and to the Tibetans as U rgyan or O rgyan, located west-north-west of Kashmir to the north of Peshawar in what is now Pakistan. Its capital on the river Swāt beyond the Indus¹⁰⁰ was only about 150 miles from the capital of Kashmir as the crow flies, but it was considerably further for a traveller, who on account of the mountains that intervene would need about a month to make the circuitous and arduous journey on foot from one to the other.¹⁰¹ It has also been located in eastern India, in Kāñcī in the Far South, near Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan, and even in the Urgensh region south of the Aral sea in Uzbekistan.¹⁰² But

⁹⁹See the Sanskrit commentary thereon: *śrīmanmakāradevyāḥ pīṭhavare prāptādeśena śrī-jñānanetranāthena* ... 'Jñānanetranātha, who received the teaching in the best of the Pīṭhas from the goddess M [Maṅgalā] ...'. See also the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 73, ll. 6–8: *devagurumantrasvātmanām (em. [reconstructed from the Old Kashmiri on which this is the gloss: *dyugurumantra-āpa*] : deva ...svātma ... Cod.) vastuta aikyam. ādipīṭhā-diṣṭa(h) śrīmāthas tu devagurubhāgavyavasthām ekasyaivākhaṇḍacitsvarūpasya yad ādideśa tat sarvais tathaiivābhivandypāsyate. For the expression Praṇavapīṭha [= Oṃkārapīṭha] for Oḍḍiyāna see also Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* 2.35c-37; and *ibid.*, p. 60, l. 10–11; Arṇasimha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 119r5–v1 (v. 153ab): *udgīthapīṭhajā śrīmanmaṅgalānandanirbharā*.

¹⁰⁰According to Xuanzang (602–664, India 629–641) (trans. BEAL 1884, vol. 1, p. 118) and the New History of the Tang of Ouyang Xiu (1007–72) and Song Qi (998–1061) (*Xin Tāng-shu*, chap. 221a, p. 12r, transl. CHAVANNES 1969, pp. 128–129), Wuzhangna's seat of government was at Mengjieli. It is probable, as Beal has suggested (*ibid.*, p. 121, footnote 9), that this was Mangora (/Mingāora, Maṅglavor, Maṅgalāvor ← Maṅgalāpura), which is located at 34°46'34"N 72°21'40"E.

¹⁰¹The Tibetan pilgrim U rgyan pa rin chen dpal (A.D. 1230–1309) gives an account of his own return from O rgyan to Kashmir in his *O rgyan lam yig*. It took him 25 days to travel by the most convenient route from the heart of O rgyan to Rdo rje mu la at the western extremity of the valley of Kashmir; see the translation (Tucci 1940, p. 58). Rdo rje mu la is surely a Tibetan rendering of *Vajramūla, and that is surely a Buddhist assimilation of the toponym Varāhamūla (mod. Varahmul/Bārāmūla) (34°12'00"N 74°21'00"E), since the latter is situated above the gorge through which the river Jhelum leaves the valley in the West. From Baramula he went on to the capital Pravarapura/Srinagar (34°05'00"N 74°50'00"E), which would have required two more days' travel, as testified by Al-Bīrūnī (SACHAU 1964, vol. 1, p. 207).

¹⁰²Eastern India (Assam/Bengal/Orissa) has been proposed by Haraprasad SHASTRI and Benoytosh BHATTACHARYA (see *Sādhnamālā*, vol. 2, pp. xxxvii–xxxix), Kashgar by Sylvain LÉVI

the evidence offered for these counter-theories is negligible and they have been able to multiply only because of the apparent lack of references to the location of Uḍḍiyāna in known Sanskrit sources. However, such references exist, and though they do not locate the place exactly, they are sufficient to conclude that it was in the vicinity of Kashmir. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions it with Kāpiśa, Balkh, and Kashmir as one of several regions in the North where certain Mantras are effective;¹⁰³ a Jaina historical text, the *Kumārapālāprabodhāprabandha*, has the Caulukya king Kumārapāla include it with Kashmir and Jālandhara in an expedition to the Himalayan region from Gujarat;¹⁰⁴ and the eighth-century inscription on the base of the Gaṇeśa statue from Gardēz, 60 miles south of Kabul, states that it was installed by Kṛiṅgala, the Śāhi ruler of Oḍḍiyāna.¹⁰⁵ Finally, the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva* refers to Uḍḍiyāna not merely as the Pīṭha of the North (*uttarapīṭhaḥ*)—the North of that expression, seen in other Krama texts, might be suspected of being non-geographical—but explicitly as located in the northern region.¹⁰⁶

(*ibid.*, p. xxxvii), Kāñcī by Lokesh CHANDRA (1979), and Urgensh by Herbert GUENTHER (1994, p. 26, footnote 58).

¹⁰³ *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 30.2c–3, speaking of the Uṣṇīṣarājanmantras: *kāpiśe (em. : kāviśe Ed.) *balakhe (conj. : vakhale Ed.) caiva *uḍḍiyāne (corr. : udiyāne Ed.) samantataḥ | kasmīre sindhudeśe ca himavatparvatasamdhīṣu | *uttarāṃ diśim āśritya (em. [cf. 10.10c; 19.99b: uttarāṃ diśim āśrayet] : uttarāṃ diśi niḥśṛtya Ed.) mantrāḥ siddhyanti śreyasāḥ '[These] excellent Mantras can be mastered in the North: in Kāpiśa, Balkh, throughout Uḍḍiyāna, in Kashmir, Sindh, and in the valleys of the Himalaya'.

¹⁰⁴ *Kumārapālācaritasamgraha*, p. 54: athottarāṃ diśaṃ prati pratāsthe. tatra kasmīroḍḍiyāna-jālandharasapādalaḥṣaparvataḥśādhīdēśān āhimācalam asādhayāt 'Then he set out towards the North. There he reached Kashmir, Uḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, the Siwaliks, Khasadeśa [in western Nepal], and other regions up as far as the Himālaya'.

¹⁰⁵ ...pratiṣṭhāpitam idaṃ mahāvināyaka paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśrīśāhikṛiṅgala-lōḍiyānaśāhipādaiḥ 'This Mahāvināyaka was established by the Supreme Lord and Emperor, Śāhi Kṛiṅgala, the Śāhi of Oḍḍiyāna'. See the reproduction of the ink estampage in KUWAYAMA 1991, p. 274, fig. 3. I agree with the reading proposed by Kuwayama in consultation with H. Nakatani, except that I see *kṛiṅgalaudyāna* rather than *kṛiṅgālaudyāna*. I also accept Kuwayama's interpretation of the date as falling in A.D. 765.

¹⁰⁶ *Kālikulakramasadbhāva* 1.1: śrīmaduttaradigbhāge pīṭhaṃ pīṭhavaram mahat | oḍḍiyānā-bhīdhānam tu siddhayoginisevitam 'In the northern region is the great Pīṭha called Oḍḍiyāna, the best of Pīṭhas, the resort of Siddhas and Yoginis' → *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa* (Triv.) 2.36–37: mahācakraḥkramo yo 'yaṃ kathyamāno yathāyatham *yatrāntarṇetranāthasya (conj. : atrāntarṇetranāthasya Ed.) prakāṣānubhavo *bhavat (em. : bhavan Ed.) | tad oḍḍiyānam (em. : tatodḍiyānam Cod. : tato dhyātam conj. Ed.) mahat (conj. : tu tat Ed.) pīṭhaṃ sarvapīṭhottamaṃ bahiḥ | yoginīsiddhasamsevyaṃ uttarasyāṃ diśi sthitam 'In the external world it is Oḍḍiyāna, the great Pīṭha, the best of all Pīṭhas, the resort of Siddhas and Yoginis, located in the northern region,

The identity of Uḍḍiyāna, then, is beyond reasonable doubt. It can also be shown that what the Kashmirian Krama knows of the place is exact. For the goddess Maṅgalā and the Karavīra cremation ground were indeed proper to it, these two facts being independently attested by the Tibetan U rgyan pa rin chen dpal (1230–1309), who visited it from Pu rañs in Western Tibet. He tells us in his ‘Guide to Uḍḍiyāna’ (*O rgyan lam yig*) that in the heart of the region, before the entrance to the town, there was a sandal-wood statue of the goddess Maṅgalā (*maṅgaladevī*).¹⁰⁷ He also visited the cremation ground to the east of the town and records that it was called *bhir sma sha*.¹⁰⁸ This is surely a

in which this great sequence of the circles that I am relating as it truly is was directly experienced by the Nātha of the Inner Eye [Jñānanetra].

¹⁰⁷ *O rgyan lam yig*, p. 97, ll. 30–34: *de nas nyi ma phyed kyis dhu ma tha lar sleb. de u rgyan sprul pa'i gnas kyis ngo bo. gnas de mthong ba tsam gyis, 'ur nas rtsis med la song 'dug. de'i mdun na mang ga la dhevi bya ba tsan tan las rang byon pa'i rje btsun ma gzhugs..* ‘After half a day we reached Dhumathala. This is the heart of Uḍḍiyāna, the land of miraculous power. When we saw that place our cries were beyond counting. Before it there dwells a self-born [image] of the goddess Maṅgaladevī made of sandal-wood’; *ibid.*, p. 98, ll. 7–9: *gnas de la mi khyim lnga brgya tsam 'dug. bud med thams cad kyis sprul bsgyur shes. khyed su yin byas rnal 'byor ma zhes zer 'dug. mang ga la dhevi drung du nyal bsdad nas bud med gcig na re mo la 'dod pa sten lo ngas dbyug pa gcig brgyab pas bros song.* ‘In this place there are about five hundred houses. All the women know the art of miraculous transformation. If you ask them who they are they say that they are Yoginīs. While I was lying down to sleep in the presence of Maṅgaladevī a certain female said [to me] “Enjoy a woman”. In reply I struck her with [my] staff and she went running off’; p. 97, ll. 5–8: *ngas rgyang nas mthong u rgyan gyi sa cha bags chags 'thug par 'dug. sa de rnam su tha mal gyi rtogs pa re re tsam byung ma kha la phra men sha za'i mkha 'gro ma du ma mdun du rengs la sleb bza'i zer ba 'dug* ‘When I saw the land of Uḍḍiyāna from a distance my residual memory traces were aroused. In these regions as soon as any spiritual insight arises [in one], however commonplace, many *phra men ma* flesh-eating Ḍākinīs turn up alone in front of one and stay as one’s ‘wife’”.

¹⁰⁸ *O rgyan lam rig*, p. 99, ll. 2–3: *gnas de'i shar la bhir sma sha zhes pa dur khrod brgyad kyi 'ya gcig* (conj. : *ya ba* corr. Tucci : *gya ba* Cod.) *phag rgod dang dug sprul dang dur bya dang ka ka dang lce spyang la sogs pa gdug pa'i mkha 'gro sprin ltar 'du pa 'jigs su rung ba skyo bung byed pa yod. de nas byang cung zad na o ka sha briksha ces pa shing brgyad kyi ya gcig yod. dur khrod de las cung zad lho na dhu mun khu ces pa zhin skyong rdo las rang byung ba yod. shing de'i rtsar la ka pa la bho jon zhes pa'i rdo gcig la tshangs pa drag sogs rdo la rang byung du byon pa yod.* ‘To the east of that place is one of the eight cremation-grounds, called [Kara]vīraśmaśā[na], thronged with a frightening cloud-like horde of malevolent Ḍākinīs [in the form of] wild boars, poisonous snakes, vultures, crows, jackals, and the like. A little to its north there is one of the eight trees, called Okaśavṛkṣa [*recte* Aśokavṛkṣa]. A little to the south of that cremation-ground is a natural stone Kṣetrapāla named *Dhumunkhu (?). Near the tree, on a single rock called Kapālabhojon [*recte* Kapālabhājana or Kapālabhojana] are natural stone [embodiments of] Brahmā, Rudra, and other [deities].’

deformation of *vīraśmaśānam* for *karavīraśmaśānam*, confirming that the Kashmirian tradition is accurate in this regard too. It is not probable that he was drawing on a Buddhist literary tradition rather than reporting, directly or indirectly, local usage heard *in situ*. For where Uḍḍiyāna's cremation ground is identified in Buddhist tradition, as it is as one of those venerated in association with eight sacred places in the ritual system of Heruka and Vajrayoginī, it is called Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, U rgyan pa shows no inclination to superimpose Buddhist readings in such cases. He also relates a visit to the Śākta Pīṭha of Jālandhara and reports the name of the cremation ground there to be Lang gur,¹¹⁰ which is a close approximation of Laṅkuṭa, the name given in the *Kumārikhaṇḍa* of the Śākta *Manthānabhairava*.¹¹¹

It is not implausible that Jñānanetra should have propitiated Kālī in Uḍḍiyāna. There is no very strong evidence that he did, but Jñānanetra himself does tell us that he had his revelation of the nature of the goddess in “the great cremation ground” (*mahāśmaśānam*),¹¹² and if this was meant to be understood geographically rather than esoterically then in a Krama context it most probably referred to Karavīra. Moreover, the practice of seeking revelation by propitiating the goddess during a period of ascetic retreat at a remote Pīṭha is attested elsewhere in the Krama's literature. Śrīvatsa, the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā*,

¹⁰⁹ *Karaṅkatoranākrama* of Dhyāyīpāda in the *Guhyasamayāsādhanaṃālā*, f.113v4: *oḍḍiyānadvāre aṭṭaṭṭahāsaṃ śmaśānam*.

¹¹⁰ O rgyan lam rig, p. 93, ll. 14–16: *de'i *dur khrod* (em. TUCCI : *khrod*) *lang gur zhes pa na pha bong thod pa 'dra ba la rje btsun ma rang byong bzhugs* ‘In its cremation ground called Lang gur there stays a self-created [image of] the goddess near a big skull-shaped boulder’.

¹¹¹ *Manthānabhairava*, *Kumārikhaṇḍa*, f. 18v3–4: *evaṃ dakṣiṇapīṭhaṃ tu oḍḍiyānād vinir-gatam | śmaśānam tatra ṛcodyānam† laṅkuṭam nāma bhīṣaṇam* ‘Thus from Oḍḍiyāna came forth the southern Pīṭha. †...† a terrible cremation-ground there called Laṅkuṭa; and f. 18v5: *īdṛg jālandharam pīṭham j(v)ālāvvā tatra viśrutā* ‘Such is the Pīṭha Jālandhara. There there is the famed Mother Jvālā’.

I am aware of one other Buddhist reference to Karavīra in connection with Uḍḍiyāna. This is in the *Grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus*, the collection of legends of the eighty-four Siddhas, which the monk Smon grub śes rab claims to have heard directly from bla ma chen po Mi 'jigs sbyin pa (*Mahāguru Abhayadatta), an Indian of Campā, and then rendered into Tibetan. There we are told that when the Siddha Kambala went to Mālapura (Maṅgalapura [DOWMAN 1985, p. 180]), the capital of Uḍḍiyāna, he spent time in a cave called Panawa (*recte* Praṇava?) in a place called Karavīra (ROBINSON 1979, p. 141, ll. 2–3): *sras kyis nub phyogs o rgyan gyi mā la pu ra bya ba na grong khyer 'bum tsho phyed dang gsum yod par phyin pa dang | de na yul ka ra bī ra zhes bya ba na | pa na wa zhes bya ba'i dgon pa na ta la tse phug bya ba'i phug pa yod sar bzhugs nas sgrub pa byas pas*.

¹¹² *Kālikāstotra*, v.19. See p. 274.

reports that he propitiated Kālī in Pūrṇapīṭha,¹¹³ and, on a mythological level, the frame-story of the *Kālikākramapañcāsikā* relates that this text is the teaching that was transmitted by Niṣkriyānanda through a [disembodied] voice to the cremation-ground dwelling Siddha Vidyānanda when he was propitiating the goddess in a cave in the mountains of the Pīṭha Śrīśaila in Andhra.¹¹⁴

However, even if this detail is true, the evidence at our disposal does not permit us to suppose that the claim of revelation in Uḍḍiyāna idealizes a process of cultural influence in which a tradition already established in that region was assimilated by Jñānanetra and then introduced into Kashmir. Nor is there is anything in our sources to suggest that a connection with the place was maintained after Jñānanetra, probably himself a Kashmirian brahmin, had passed on his knowledge to his Kashmirian successors. The author of one of the later works of this tradition might be taken to be writing in Uḍḍiyāna rather than Kashmir, since he speaks in an introductory verse of the knowledge of the Krama “here in Uḍḍiyāna”.¹¹⁵ But since the author is writing a Sanskrit commentary on a text in Old Kashmiri he is evidently a Kashmirian and writing for a Kashmirian audience. It is preferable, therefore, to take this as evidence that for the followers of the Krama the original toponym had come to denote Kashmir itself, or that its meaning had been extended to include it, or, most plausibly, that the author is referring to a sacred site in Kashmir that had been identified with the original location, either Biḍḍar in the south-east of the valley or, more probably, Hārparbuth in the capital.¹¹⁶

¹¹³See p. 300.

¹¹⁴*Kālikākramapañcāsikā*, f. 21v4–8 (7.182–188): *śīlācitir munivaras tasya putras tapodhanah | yogābhyāsarato devi siddhaḥ śābararūpadhṛk | 183 vidyānandeti vikhyāto mahāvīravarah priye | śmaśānavāsi nityastho niśātanarataḥ param | 184 siddhayogīndravīras ca cakracāre ratipriyaḥ | śivapīṭham mahādevi śrīśailam devatāpriyam | 185 tasya uttaradigbhāge nānāśikharaparvate | tatra hemamayī divyā gubhā siddhasurārcitā | 186 tatrārādhanaḥ kṛtvā vidyāśābaram uttamam | karoti bhaktim yogīndro niṣkriyājñānavānchinah | 187 bhaktim tivratarām divyām kṛtvā śābararūpadhṛk | tasya tuṣṭo munivaro niṣkriyānanda uttamah | 188 amoghavānyā tasyaiva saṃkrāntam kālikākramam | vāmājñānam tu kathitam pañcāśadbhūmikākramam.*

¹¹⁵Commentary on the *Mahānayaṇaprakāśa* of Śitikanṭha, p. 2, l. 3: *pīṭhe ’sminn uḍḍiyāne param aparamalam jñānam asty ugracaryā* ‘Here in the Pīṭha Uḍḍiyāna is the highest knowledge, free of the impurity of the other, [together with] the awesome practice [of Krama worship]’.

¹¹⁶A Kashmirian Tirthamāhātmya, the *Nandikētrāvatāra*, states (f. 11v, v. 55) that by the command of Maheśānī Oḍḍiyāna is present in Kashmir itself (along with the other three Pīṭhas, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmarāja [*sic*], and Jālandhara). A gloss in the margin of the manuscript tells us that this Kashmirian Oḍḍiyāna is Bheḍar. This must be the large Agrahāra called Bheḍara in Skt. that Kalhaṇa tells us was founded by king Bālāditya (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 3.481) and which STEIN (1979,

The Kālikāstotra

From Jñānānētra we have only a single work, the *Kālikāstotra*, which survives in both Kashmirian and Nepalese manuscripts.¹¹⁷ In twenty Āryā verses he invokes Kālī's nature as pure, non-dual, all-projecting consciousness:¹¹⁸

Supreme, O Goddess, is your formless nature that takes the form of the three worlds, free of the concepts of the existent and the non-existent, unlimited by adjuncts, to be attained in the purest awareness. Supreme indeed is your stainless non-dual nature, that one and multiform pervades the world that flows out [within it, yet is] free of change, its name the true ground of consciousness.

and touches on the phases of a system of worship of the constituent powers of this nature that will be set out in detail only in the works of his successors.¹¹⁹ In

vol. 1, p. 115) identifies with the present Biḍār, a large village in the Bring Pargana (33°35'N 75°20'E). But a more plausible location is the hill Hār^aparbuth (Śārikāparvata, Pradyumna-giri) in Srinagar. For that is called Oṃkārapīṭha (Pṛaṇavapīṭha) in the *Śārikāpariccheda* (f. 2r3, v. 1: *oṃkārapīṭham etad vai pīṭham pradyumnakam param*); f. 3r1: *praṇavākhyasya pīṭhasya*), as is Uḍḍiyāna in Krama sources; see footnote 12 on p. 236 and 99 on p. 267. This a more plausible location because it is in a prominent position, rising in the old capital some 125 metres above the floor of the valley, and has been a site of the worship of the Goddess since early times, principally of Śārikā/Cakreśvarī, who gives the hill its name, but also of other goddesses, notably Kālī and Siddhalakṣmī. The daily five-kilometre circumbulation (*parikramah*) of the shrines on the hill was a conspicuous feature of piety among the Kashmirian brahmins (*Śārikāpariccheda* f. 3r1: *praṇavākhyasya pīṭhasya paridakṣiṇataḥ priye | sa yāti śivasāyujyam yatra gatvā na śocate*) and deep attachment to their Śaktipīṭha (*Śārikāpariccheda* f. 2r6: *śaktipīṭhātmakāḥ prokto vedāsyah praṇavaḥ paraḥ*) has led them in their present diaspora to establish a replica of the temple of Śārikā on a hill, renamed Hār^aparbuth, in Anangpur village, Faridabad, south of Delhi.

¹¹⁷I have not seen Kashmirian manuscripts of the text but it is probable that one at least exists since it has been published in Kashmir in booklets for devotional use; see *Stutisamgraha* and *Śrīgurustuti* in the bibliography. In the quotations that follow I have cited only the readings of the second, that of the first being identical with it but for the addition of numerous minor errors. A line of a verse by Śrīnātha has been quoted by Kṣemarāja in *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 92, ll. 10–12: *yathoktam śrīśrīnāthapādaiḥ śrayet svātantryaśaktim svām sā śrīkālī parā kalā iti* 'As the venerable Śrīnātha has said, "He should take hold of his own power of autonomy. That is Kālī, the highest power"'. This is perhaps from another, lost work by Jñānānētra.

¹¹⁸*Kālikāstotra*, f. 90v1–3 (v. 1): *sitatarasamvidavāpyam sadasatkalanāvihīnam anupādhi | jayati jagattrayarūpam *nīrūpam* (Ed. : *nairūpam* Cod.) *devi te rūpam | 2 ekam anekākāram *prasṛtajagadvyāpti* (*prasṛta* Ed. : *prasṛti* Cod) *vikṛtiparihīnam | jayati tavādvayarūpam vimālam alam citsvarūpākhyam*.

¹¹⁹For a brief, unannotated account of the phases of this worship see SANDERSON 1988, pp. 695–698 (= 1990, pp. 164–167) and SANDERSON in the discussion after GOUDRIAAN 1986, p. 164.

verse 17 he invokes the first of these phases, that of the goddess's embodiment as the Pīṭha:¹²⁰

Supreme is your embodiment as the venerable Pīṭha[. For it is] replete with the pervasive power of the gnosis that flashes forth through the circles of the Bhūcarī, Dikcarī, Gocarī, and Khecarī goddesses, and [in its culmination] is one with the matchless state of rest [in the ground of consciousness].

In verses 3–4 and 16 he alludes to the five phases that follow, (1) the Five Flows (*pañcavāhacakram*), (2) Illumination (*prakāśacakram*), (3) Bliss (*ānandacakram*), (4) Embodiment (*mūrticakram*), and (5) the Celestial Order (*divyaughah*), elsewhere termed the circle of the Multitude (*vr̥ndacakram*) or Śākinīś (*śākinīcakram*), comprising the sixty-four Siddhās and their leader Maṅgalā:¹²¹

Supreme is the unique (*kim api*) act, surging up within, in which you assume your form through your pure creative urge, the shining forth of that consciousness absolute and spontaneous [as the cycle of the Five Flows]. Then when you have projected all Time [through the circles of Illumination and Bliss] and [your] terrible manifestation as the [introverting] ego through the [circle of] Embodiment you eliminate this [ego through the rise of the circle of the Multitude *vr̥ndacakram*] and so accomplish liberation.

and:¹²²

Supreme is the Mother [Kālī] who saves the world, pouring forth the Celestial Order by dividing each of her thirteen forms into five.

In verses 8–9 he alludes to the four phases that follow these five: the three phases of Emission, Stasis, and Withdrawal (*sr̥ṣṭicakram*, *sthiticakram*, and *saṁhāracakram*), and the thirteen Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless (*anākhyacakram*) in which the course of worship ends:¹²³

¹²⁰ *Kālikāstotra*, f. 92r4–5 (v. 17): *bhūdiggoḥagadevīcakralasajjñānavibhavaparipūrṇam | nirupama*viśrāntimayaṁ* (Ed. : *viś[r]āntamayaṁ* Cod.) *śrīpīṭhaṁ jayati te *rūpam* (Ed. : *pīṭhaṁ* Cod.).

¹²¹ *Kālikāstotra*, f. 90v3–5 (vv. 3–4): *jayati tavocchalad *antaḥ svacchecchayā* (Ed. : *asvecchacchayā* Cod.) *svavīgrahagrahaṇam | kim api niruttarasahasvarūpasamvitprakāśamayam | 3 vāntvā samastakālaṁ *mūrtyāhaṁkāraghoramūrtim api* (Cod. : *bhūtyā jhaṁkāraghoramūrttim api* Ed.) *| nīgraham *asmin* (Ed. : *api* Cod.) *kṛtvānugraham api kurvatī jayasi*.

¹²² *Kālikāstotra*, f. 92r3–7 (v. 16): *ṛtumunisamkhyāṁ rūpaṁ vibhajya pañcaprakāram ekai-kam | divyaugham udgiranti jayati *jagattāriṇī* (Ed. : *jattāriṇī* Cod.) *jananī*.

¹²³ *Kālikāstotra*, f. 91r4–v1 (vv. 8–9): **ekam* (Ed. : *evam* Cod.) *svarūparūpaṁ prasaraṣṭhitivilayabhedatas trividham | pratyekam udayasaṁsthitilaya*viśramataś* (*viśramataś* Ed. : *viśrāmataś* Cod.) *caturvidham tad api | 9 iti vasupañcakasamkhyāṁ vidhāya sahasvarūpam ātmīyam | viśvavivartāvartapravartakam jayati te rūpam*.

The unitary nature of [your] essence becomes triple in the aspects of Emission, Stasis, and Withdrawal; and each of these assumes four aspects through Emission, Stasis, Withdrawal, and Rest. Supreme is your form that by thus dividing your spontaneous essence into twelve sets in motion the whirl that is your unfolding (*vivartah*) as the world.

In verses 5 and 18 he venerates the last of these:¹²⁴

Supreme are you, O Kālī, who, after dividing the body of Time into twelve, make that same nature shine forth within yourself as one.¹²⁵

and:¹²⁶

I praise the absolutely transcendent Goddess within that ground that lies within the state [of the Nameless] in which withdrawal itself is withdrawn, who is untouched by the prolixities of the existent and non-existent that she projects, [yet is] manifest in everything at every moment.

He closes with a prayer that now that this nature of the Goddess has been revealed to him it may be realized by all beings:¹²⁷

O mother, by your favour, may these three worlds appropriate the nature of the Goddess that rests within the transcendental void, as I experienced it in the great cremation ground. Thus I, Śiva, have expressed praise of my own nature by force of the state of true immersion. O Maṅgalā, may it benefit the whole world that is itself myself.

In this hymn he draws on both of the principal Krama scriptures. Thus, for example, he takes the circle of the Multitude from the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, and the circle of the thirteen [Kālīs] from the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*.¹²⁸ Nor has

¹²⁴ *Kālikāstotra*, ff. 90v5–91r1 (v. 5): *kālasya kālī dehaṃ vibhajya munipañca*saṃkhyayābhinnam* (em. : *saṃkhyayā bhinnam* Ed. [Cod., of course, allows both interpretations]) | *svasmin virājamānaṃ tad rūpaṃ kurvatī jayasi*.

¹²⁵ He intends us to understand that this manifestation of the twelve Kālīs as one is the thirteenth Kālī worshipped at their centre.

¹²⁶ *Kālikāstotra*, ff. 92r5–v1 (v. 18): *pralayaḥ pralayaḥ antarabhūmau vilasitasadasatprapañcabhīnam | *devīm* (Cod. : *devi* Ed.) *niruttaratarāṃ naumi sadā sarvataḥ *prakaṭām* (Ed. : *prakaṭam* Cod.).

¹²⁷ *Kālikāstotra*, f. 92v1–4 (v. 19–20): **yādṛṇ mahāśmaśāne dṛṣṭam devyāḥ svarūpaṃ *akulaṣṭham* (Ed. : *akulaṣṭham* Cod.) | *tādrḡ jagattrayaṃ idaṃ bhavatu tavāmba prasādena | 20 itthaṃ svarūpastutir abhyadhāyi samyaksamāveśadaśāvaśena | mayā śivenāstu śivāya samyaṃ ma-maiva viśvasya tu *maṅgalākhye* (Cod. : *maṅgalāya* Ed.).

¹²⁸ The phase of the 64 (+1) is taught in the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva* (Paṭala 2: *catuḥṣaṣṭi-vibhā(gā)vatārah*) but not in the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*, while the phase of the 13 [Kālīs] is derived from the *Kālikulapañcaśataka* (Paṭala 5), the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva* teaching the worship

he simply cobbled together elements from the two. The result, to judge from the more detailed accounts to be seen in the works of his successors, is a harmonious and original whole carefully designed to express a coherent model of the cyclical unfolding and reversion of cognition pervaded by its non-sequential core, producing perhaps for the first time in Śaivism a model for a form of contemplative ritual entirely fashioned by and subservient to the terms of a doctrine of liberating gnosis.¹²⁹

A passage from a lost text on the Krama lineages quoted by Jayaratha, which I shall call the *Kramavaṃśāvalī*, asserts that Jñānanetra had seventeen disciples, some of whom came in time to initiate others, so establishing their own lineages. According to Jayaratha himself the total was at least nineteen.¹³⁰

The Kramastotra of Eraka

Abhinavagupta relates that three of these disciples, the Yoginīs Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā—it is the last two that raise Jayaratha's count—passed on the teaching that Jñānanetra had received to Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Eraka.¹³¹

First the venerable, excellent Vīra Govindarāja, of auspicious name, second

of seventeen Kālīs in this phase. When in verse 9cd (f. 91r5–v1) he speaks of the circle of the Kālīs as setting in motion the whirl of the [her] unfolding as the world he echoes *Kālikulapañcaśataka* A, f. 27v4 (7.27ab): *tadvivartah smṛto jyotiḥpuñjaś cakreśipūrvagah* ‘The mass of radiance beginning with the leader of the circle [of Kālīs] is her unfolding (*vivartah*)’.

¹²⁹See also SANDERSON 1995, pp. 90–91

¹³⁰*Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 195, ll. 1–11: *kiṃ ca śrīmadavatārakanāthena śrīkakāradevīvac chrīmadanikāśrīkalyāṇike cānugrāhite ity apy ato 'vasitam. tad eṣa 'kramakulacatuṣṭayāśrayabhedābhedopadeśato nāthah | saptadaśaiva śiṣyān itthaṃ cakre savaṃśanirvaṃśān' iti niyamo na nyāyīyah śiṣyadvayasyāyāparigaṇanād anyasyāpi sambhāvyamānatvāt* ‘Moreover, it is also determined on the evidence of this source [the *Kramakeli* of Abhinavagupta] that the revered Promulgator initiated not only Kakāradevī [Keyūravatī] but also the venerable Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā. So the limit expressed in the following passage is not justified: “Thus the Nātha [Jñānanetra] initiated precisely seventeen disciples in the teaching of duality-cum-noduality that rests on the four phases of the Krama, who themselves had or did not have disciples of their own”. For its author has failed to count these two disciples and there may well have been another’.

¹³¹*Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 192, ll. 3–9, quoting Abhinavagupta's *Kramakeli*: *yad uktaṃ tattraivānena yathā* (‘As [Abhinavagupta] has said in that same work’): *ekah śrīmān vīra-varah sugrāhitanāmadheyo govindarājābhīdhānah śrībhānukābhīdhāno dvitīyah śrīmān eraka-samākhyas tṛtīyah samam evopadeśam pīṭheśvaribhyaḥ uttarapīṭhe* (em. : *uttarapīṭha* Ed.) *labdhopadeśac chrīdvānandanāthāl labdhānugrahābhyah śrīkeyūravatīśrīmadanikāśrīkalyāṇikābhyah prāpnuvantah*.

Bhānuka, and third Eraka received together the teaching from Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā, all three of whom had been initiated by Śivānandanātha,¹³² who had received the teaching in the Northern Pīṭha from the Pīṭheśvarīs.

Eraka first strove for *siddhiḥ* but later resolved to benefit mankind by passing on the esoteric teaching in the form of a hymn:¹³³

As for the venerable Eraka, he strove for *siddhiḥ*, until having achieved it he reflected as follows: “What is the value of the supernatural rewards that I have undergone this great hardship to attain? Why did I not devote myself exclusively, as my [two] fellow pupils did, to the spiritual upliftment of those who might have come to me as disciples? For: ‘Even on the level of Sadāśiva [to which those who seek reward ascend] Mahograkālī with her ferocious frown of fury will come in time to destroy. Realizing this one should ascend to the ultimate state and forcibly enter the Goddess Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī [who withdraws even Sadāśiva]’. So let me now benefit mankind by spreading through [this] hymn the esoteric teaching that I have held hidden in my mind”.

This hymn was the *Kramastotra*, which later authors refer to reverentially as the *Kramastotrabhāṭṭāraka*, using an honorific otherwise reserved for scriptures.¹³⁴ Unfortunately no manuscript of the text has reached us. All we have

¹³²Śivānandanātha is Jñānanetranātha's alias; cf. Arṇasiṃha. *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa*, f. 119v1–2 (v. 154ab): *tataḥ śrīmacchivānandanāthaguruvarāṇaṃ sadā | lokottaramahājñānacakṣuṣaṃ praṇamāmy aham* ‘Next I offer homage to the foremost of Gurus, the venerable Śivānandanātha, who possessed at all times the eye of the supramundane, great knowledge’. The expression *-jñānacakṣuṣaṃ* is evidently intended to allude to his other name, Jñānanetra, which Arṇasiṃha uses in f. 117v2–3 (v. 136): *śrījñānanetranāthasya* (see footnote 91 on p. 265).

¹³³*Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 193, ll. 1–11: *śrīmān erakas tu siddhyai prāyatata yāvat siddhaḥ sann evaṃ manasā samarthayate sma. kiṃ bhogair yad ayaṃ mahān kleśo mayānubhūtaḥ. katham ahaṃ sabrahmacārivad yāvajjīvaṃ prapannalokoddharaṇamātrapara eva nābhavaṃ yataḥ śrīmat-sadāśivapade'pi mahograkālī bhīmotkaṭabhrukuṭīr esyati bhaṅgabhūmiḥ | ity ākalayya paramāṃ sthitim etya kālasaṃkarṣiṇīm bhagavatīm haṭhato 'dhitiṣṭhet. tad idānim api nijabhāvagata-rahasyopadeśaṃ stotramukhenāpi tāvat prasārayaṃl lokān anugrṇīyām iti*. That the whole passage, beginning from *ekah śrīmān vīravaraḥ* and ending here with *lokān anugrṇīyām iti*, is direct quotation from Abhinavagupta's *Kramakeli* is confirmed by the fact that Kṣemarāja attributes the first half of the verse cited here to that work in *Śivastotrāvalivivṛti*, p. 159, ll. 17–18 (l. 16: *yathoktam asmadgurubhiḥ kramakelau* ‘As has been said by my Guru in the *Kramakeli*’).

¹³⁴We find it in Kashmirian sources in the following: *Kramasadbhāṇabhāṭṭāraka* (= *Kālī-kulakramasadbhāṇa*), *Tantrarājabhāṭṭāraka* (= *Jayadrathayāmala*), *Mṛtyujidbhāṭṭāraka* (= *Netra*), *Vijñānabhāṭṭāraka* (= *Vijñānabhairava*), *Sarvavīrabhāṭṭāraka*, and *Svatantrabhāṭṭāraka* (= *Svachanda*).

are quotations in the works of others of its verses on twelve out of the thirteen Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless,¹³⁵ and five citations of verses or single lines on (1) the activation of the seed-syllable KHPHREM¹³⁶ as the contemplation of the progressive dissolution of the content of cognition into the sky of consciousness (*cidākāśaḥ*), (2) on the rise of [the goddess in consciousness as] the Mantra dissolving all differentiated cognitions,¹³⁷ (3) on the single radiance that permeates the object, means, and agent of cognition, (4) on the inexpressible essence of all verbalization, and (5) on the inner fusion of light and bliss.¹³⁸

Keyūravatī

Later Krama Gurus trace their initiatory lineage back to Jñānānētra through the Yoginī Keyūravatī alone, who thus occupies a position of particular reverence in the tradition as the conduit through which the teachings of Jñānānētra reached all subsequent Gurus. Nor does Abhinavagupta's account, though it adds Madanikā and Kalyāṇikā, claim any independence for them as the source of individual lineages, simply merging them somewhat implausibly with Keyūravatī as co-initiators. No work is attributed to her in spite of her eminence, or to any other of the known female Gurus of this tradition; but the **Kramavaṃśāvalī* reports that she had three disciples, all of whom began their own teaching lineages. Jayaratha raises the total to six, by adding Govindarāja and Bhānuka on the authority of Abhinavagupta, and a certain Naverakanātha on the authority of a citation from a lost work.¹³⁹

Hrasvanātha (Vāmana/Vāmanadatta/Vīranātha)

The transmission that reached these later Gurus passed from her through the Vīra Hrasvanātha, also called Vāmana, Vīravāmanaka, Vāmanavīra, and Vīranā-

¹³⁵For the citations of these verses see footnote 204 on p. 299.

¹³⁶This syllable opens the principal Krama Mantra, the nine-syllable Vidyā of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī: KHPHREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒŚVAR. For this verse and a translation see p. 365.

¹³⁷For this verse and a translation see p. 364.

¹³⁸These five citations are respectively in (1) *Tantrāloka* on 4.191cd, (2) *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla* on v. 49, (3) *Mahānaya* (Triv.) 6.27; *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 140; (4) *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla* on v. 39; and (5) *ibid.*, on v. 44, partially in *Spandasamdoha*, p. 10, l. 15–11, 1 (*yathoktaṃ ...siddhapādaiḥ*).

¹³⁹*Tantrāloka*, vol. 3, pp. 195, l. 16–196, l. 9.

tha.¹⁴⁰ Jayaratha tells us that Hrasvanātha composed a commentary (-vivarāṇa) on Eraka's *Kramastotra*, and claims to have seen a manuscript of it written in his own hand.¹⁴¹ But no trace survives beyond this single mention, nor of any of the other commentaries on the same whose existence he reports.¹⁴² Of his work we have a single verse from an unidentified source, which speaks of "that supramundane fire-sacrifice in which the fuel is the forest of dualities and the human sacrifice (*mahāpaśuḥ*) Death himself".¹⁴³

We also have two short texts: the *Svabodhodayamañjarī* and the *Dvaya-sampattivārtika*, also known as the *Bodhaviḷāsa*. The last verse of the former declares that it is the work of Vāmanadatta, the son of Harṣadatta 'a lion in the forest of the Mīmāṃsā'.¹⁴⁴ In the closing verse of the latter the author does not

¹⁴⁰ (1) Vāmana: *Tāntrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 196, 15–16, quoting from a lost work by one Somarāja a passage on his teacher Hrasvanātha: *śrīmadvāmanabhānuḥ kramakamala-vikāsane caturah* 'The venerable Vāmana, a [veritable] sun able to cause the lotuses of the lineage to unfold'; and Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 119v3–5 (v. 156): *mahāvīravaro yo 'sau śrīmadvāmanasaṃjñakaḥ | devīdhāmnī sadārūḍhas taṃ vande kramabhāskaram* 'I praise the best among the best of Vīras, Vāmana by name, that sun to [the lotuses of] the Krama [lineage], who was constantly immersed in the radiance of the Goddess'; (2) Vīravāmanaka: Yogarāja, *Paramārthasāravivṛti*, p. 146, l. 15: *yathāha bhāṭṭasrīviravāmanakaḥ*; (3) Vāmanavīra: *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.), 8.27c: *etadvimarśasaṃbhūtavīravālyāḍitarpaṇāt | āsīd *vāmanavīrasya* (em. : *vāmanavīryasya* Ed.) **vidveṣastambhanādīkam* (conj. : *yadvīṣṇu-stambhanādīkam* Cod.); and (4) Vīranātha: *Tāntrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 196, ll. 10–13: *śrīhrasvanāthasyāpi 'śrīviranāthapādaiḥ pañca ca devīnaye kṛtāḥ śīṣyāḥ' iti na pañcaiva śīṣyāḥ* 'Nor is it true of Hrasvanātha that he had only five disciples, as is stated in the verse "The venerable Vīranātha initiated five disciples in the Devīnaya"'.
¹⁴¹ *Tāntrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 203, ll. 13–15, speaking of a second verse on Yamakālī in that hymn: *athāyam api bhavatkalpita eva śloka iti cen naitat śrīhrasvanāthenāpi svalipivivarāṇe 'sya dṛṣṭatvāt* 'If it is claimed that this verse too is my work [rather than Eraka's], I reply that this cannot be so, because Hrasvanātha too bears witness to this verse in his commentary in his own hand'.

¹⁴² *Tāntrālokaviveka*, vol. 3, p. 203, ll. 15–16: *sarveṣāṃ eva ca vivaraṇakṛtām atra pratipadam pāṭhānām ślokanām <ca> vyatyāso dṛśyate. ity asmadṛṣṭa eva pāṭhe ka ivāyam pradveṣaḥ* 'Moreover, we find that all the authors of commentaries have inversions of readings and verses at every step in this [work]. So why, I wonder, should there be this special hostility to the reading that I have seen?'

¹⁴³ Yogarāja, *Paramārthasāravivṛti*, p. 146, l. 15: *yathāha bhāṭṭasrīviravāmanakaḥ: yatrendhanam dvaitavanam mṛtyur eva mahāpaśuḥ | alaukikena yajñena tena nityam yajāmahe*. For the meaning of *mahāpaśuḥ* see *Svacchandodyota*, vol. 2, p. 7: *mahāpaśuḥ puruṣapaśuḥ* 'a *mahāpaśuḥ* is a human sacrificial victim'.

¹⁴⁴ *Svabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 8r9–11; B, f. 5v7–9 (v. 44): *mīmāṃsāvanasiṃhasya harṣadatta-sya sūnunā | kṛtā vāmanadattena svabodhodayamañjarī*.

state his name but identifies himself simply as the son of Harṣadatta ‘a lion in the forest of the Mīmāṃsā and a native of Ṭākadeśa’.¹⁴⁵ The -datta of the name would hinder us from identifying this author with the Krama’s Vāmana *alias* Hrasvanātha, were it not that Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya quotes the second text as the work of Vāmananātha at one place,¹⁴⁶ and as that of Hrasvanātha, son of Harṣadatta, at another.¹⁴⁷ Abhinavagupta quotes the same as the work of Śrī-Vāmana,¹⁴⁸ and Kṣemarāja quotes the first as that of Bhaṭṭaśrī-Vāmana,¹⁴⁹ while Yogarāja, the pupil of Kṣemarāja, attributes the verse cited above on the supramundane fire-sacrifice to Bhaṭṭaśrī-Vīravāmanaka.¹⁵⁰

The purpose and content of the *Śvabodhodayamañjarī* is the teaching of a series of purely mental practices to bring about liberation-in-life through the dissolution of contracted awareness (*manah, cittam*) by means of insight (*niścayaḥ*) into the emptiness of objective and mental phenomena¹⁵¹ and reversion into the uncontracted inner ground by observing the process of the arising and dying away of cognition, especially where the latter is particularly intense, as in the perception of the beautiful and meditation on the sensation of orgasm:

One may meditate on any beautiful sound that one hears until ceasing it brings about the cessation of mind. In the same way one may meditate on the beauty of the visible and other [objects of the senses]. After the object-perception has dissolved one should let one’s awareness remain empty, with no memory of it, full only of the sense of one’s own immediate being.¹⁵²

.....

¹⁴⁵ *Dvayasampattivārtika* A, f. 8v24 and upper margin; B, ff. 6v9–7r1 (v. 23): *ṭākadeśasamudbhūto mīmāṃsāvanakesarī | harṣadatteti nāmnā tu tasya sūnor iyaṃ kṛtiḥ*.

¹⁴⁶ *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 78, ll. 1–2: *dvayasampattikāras tu vāmananātho*

¹⁴⁷ *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 90, ll. 14–17: *śrīhrasvanāthena harṣadattasūnunā ‘ahaṃkāramayī bhūmir’ *ityādīnā dvayasampattau* (corr. : *ityādīnā advayasampattau* Ed.). The citation is *Dvayasampattivārtika* A, f. 8r18–19; B, f. 6r8 (v. 5a).

¹⁴⁸ *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 198, ll. 13–14: *eṣa eva śrīvāmana*viracite dvayasampattivārtike (viracite dvaya corr. : viracite advaya Ed.) upadeśanayo boddhavyaḥ*.

¹⁴⁹ *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 48, ll. 14–7: *bhaṭṭaśrīvāmanenāpy uktam ‘ālambya saṃvidam yasmāt saṃvedyam na svabhāvataḥ | tasmāt saṃviditam sarvam iti saṃvinmayo bhaved’ iti*. ‘Bhaṭṭaśrī-Vāmana too has said: “One can become flooded with consciousness by [contemplating] the fact that since the objects of knowledge exist not in themselves but only in dependence on cognition everything is known”’. This is *Śvabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 7v19–20 (v. 32).

¹⁵⁰ See footnote 143 on p. 278.

¹⁵¹ See, e.g., v. 32 translated in footnote 149.

¹⁵² *Śvabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 7r11–14; B, f. 3r4–7 (vv. 15–16): *yad yaṃ manoharam kiṃcic chrutigocaram āgatam | ekāgram bhāvayet tāvad yāval līnam nirodhakṛt | rūpādīnāṃ tathāive-tthaṃ bhāvayed ramaṇīyatām | vilīnān *na (A : nā B) smaret paścād ātmabhāvopabṛmhitāḥ*.

One should direct one's attention at the climax of love-making to the point between the penis and the navel. As the bliss of orgasm fades one will suddenly be freed of all perturbation.¹⁵³

.....

If a person's awareness dissolves into the self in every moment through these methods he becomes liberated-in-life, having reached the full reality of consciousness.¹⁵⁴

The defining feature of these methods, which sets them apart from the meditation practices of the brahmanical tradition and indeed from those taught in much of the Śaiva Mantramārga, has been expressed by the author as follows:¹⁵⁵

The ancients taught that the cessation [of the activities of the mind and senses] comes about through the method of cultivating distaste for them. I shall teach [here] how that cessation can be achieved effortlessly.

and by Abhinavagupta in an oblique reference to the text:¹⁵⁶

To explain, the Guru has taught in many ways in his treatise that it is by an effortless detachment that the activities of the senses dissolve. [For] the more they are forcibly restrained, the more they rise in ever new forms.

As for the *Dvayasampattivārtika*, that is an explanation of two verses, ascribed to oral transmission (*vaktrāgamaḥ*),¹⁵⁷ on the attainment of liberation-

¹⁵³ *Svabodhodayamañjarī* B, f. 5r6–7 (lacking in A) (v. 38): *nābhimedhṛāntare cittam *suratānte* (corr. : *svaratānte* B) *vinikṣipet | liyamāne ratānande nistarāṅgaḥ kṣaṇam bhavet.*

¹⁵⁴ *Svabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 8r7–9; B, f. 5v5–7 (v. 43): *itthaṁ pratikṣaṇam yasya cittam ātmani liyate | sa labdhabodhasadbhāvo jīvanmukto vidhīyate.*

¹⁵⁵ *Svabodhodayamañjarī* A, f. 7r6–7; B, ff. 2v9–3r1 (v. 12): *pūrvair nirodhaḥ kathito vairāgyābhyāsayogataḥ | ayatnena nirodho 'yam asmābhir upadiśyate.*

¹⁵⁶ *Mālinīvijayavārtika* 2.111–12: *tathā hi gurur ādikṣad babudhā svakaśāsane | anādaraviraktyaiva galantīndriyavṛttayaḥ | yāvat tu viniyamante tāvat tāvad vikurvate.*

¹⁵⁷ *Dvayasampattivārtika* A, f. 8r17–18; B, f. 5v6–7 (v. 4ab): *ślokadvayam idaṁ yasmāc chivavaktrāgamoditam.* GNOLI (1974, p. 454) takes *śivavaktrāgamoditam* to mean 'stated in the scriptures from the very mouth of Śiva' ('state dette nell'āgama dalla stessa bocca di Śiva'). However, the term *vaktrāgamaḥ* and its synonyms such as *vaktrāmnāyaḥ* and *mukhāgamaḥ* mean oral teaching as opposed to teaching in the form of scripture; see, e.g., *Devīdyardhaśatikā*, f. 12r4–5 (v. 139ab): *pāścāc *chr̥ṇuṣvaiva* (em. : *chr̥ṇuṣvava* Cod.) *mahopadeśam vaktrāgame ya(t) sthita khecarīṣu*; f. 3v6–7 (v. 31cd): **mukhāgamam idaṁ* (conj. : *mukhāgamami* Cod.) *devi khecarīṇām hr̥di sthitam*; *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 4r12–v1 (3.29cd): *tena vaktrena vaksyāmi vaktrāmnāyakramāgatam*; *Kālikulapañcaśataka* A, f. 2v1 (1.18ab): *mukhāgamavidhānena vaktrādvaktrakrameṇa tu*; *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 9v6 (v. 142): *saṃcāru | mukhānmukhakramāyātaḥ sarvasaṃkalpavarjitah | vaktrāmnāyaḥ paro yo 'yam sa saṃcāro 'mitaḥ sthitaḥ*;

in-life (*vyutthāne śivatvam*) through meditative fusion of the two urges, introvertive and extrovertive, of uncontracted consciousness.

These practices and their description contain no elements that link them directly to outward features specific to the Krama. Indeed many are drawn from the *Vijñānabhairava* rather than any scripture of the Kālikula. Nonetheless, their spirit is precisely that which animates the Krama; and this proximity is particularly clear in the practice of observing the arising and reversion of sensual cognition, from initial excitation to final quiescence. We cannot conclude, therefore, from the abstract character of these instructions that they must have been written by an author other than Hrasvanātha. Moreover, both works are connected with the oral tradition of the Siddhas, an expression for the enlightened that is mostly applied in the Kashmirian literature to masters of the Krama. The author of the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa* when citing the first verse of the *Svabodhodayamañjarī* refers to it or the whole work as *siddhamukhāmnāyaḥ* ‘the oral teachings of the Siddhas’.¹⁵⁸ The author himself refers to those teachings in that work¹⁵⁹ and at the end of his *Dvayasampattivārtika* identifies them as his source. Moreover, he declares that those who achieve success by following the path that he has formulated on their basis will attain the *yoginīpadam*, the domain of the Yoginīs, which is to say the state that they embody or, which comes to the same, the state that they hold in their awareness and transmit to others.¹⁶⁰ This too is consistent with a Krama background, though it does not

Vātulanāthasūtravṛtti, p. 19, ll. 1–2: *mahāmelāpasamaye sūtropanibaddho vaktrāmnāyaḥ prakāśitah; Tantrāloka* 6.252ab: *iti kālātattvam uditam śāstramukhāgamanijānubhavasiddham*. This leads me to question the reading *śiva-*. For the oral teaching of Śiva is his scriptures and the expression *śivavaktrāgama-* is therefore pleonastic. Moreover, as GNOLI’s translation shows, it supposes an awkward ellipsis: ‘scriptures by/from Śiva’s mouth’ for ‘scriptures uttered by Śiva’s mouth’. I therefore suspect that the manuscripts have transmitted a corruption of *siddhavaktrāgamoditam* ‘taught in the oral transmission of the Siddhas’. That reading would make better sense, and it would be in keeping with the author’s statement at the end of the work that it is the oral teachings of the Siddhas that he has formulated (see footnote 160).

¹⁵⁸ *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.52–53: ... *iti siddhamukhāmnāyayuktyā*

¹⁵⁹ *Svabodhodayamañjarī* B, f. 5r1–2 (v. 35): *vāmadakṣiṇasaṃcārabindudvayanigharṣaṇāt | dvādaśānte mahāśaktiḥ siddhair uktā mukhāgame* ‘The Siddhas have taught in their oral teachings that the Great Power [becomes manifest] in the Dvādaśānta through the friction of the two drops in the flows of the left and right [channels of the breath]’.

¹⁶⁰ *Dvayasampattivārtika* A, f. 8v23–24 and left margin; B, f. 6v8–9 (v. 22): *iti siddhamukhoddgītam svayam evam udāhṛtam | mārgenānena saṃsiddhā labhante yoginīpadam* ‘Thus I have formulated in my own words the oral teaching of the Siddhas. Those who achieve success by this path attain the Yoginī’s domain’.

prove it conclusively. Finally, the *Svabodhodayamañjarī*, though infrequently cited in the Kashmirian literature, is, as we shall see, one of the few texts cited by Kashmirian authors of the Krama. I see no good reason therefore to deny that these two texts are the work of Hrasvanātha/Vāmana.

Some have asserted that the author of these works is the Vāmanadatta who wrote the long philosophical hymn to Viṣṇu (**Viṣṇustuti*) rooted in the Pāñcarātriṇa tradition of the *Sātvatasamhitā* that has been referred to as the *Samvitprakāśa*, though that appears to be the title only of the first of a series of Prakaraṇas contained in the work.¹⁶¹ But that position is refuted by the hymn itself. For while the author of the Śaiva works describes himself as the son of Harṣadatta, a Mīmāṃsaka of Ṭākadeśa in the northern Panjab, the author of this Pāñcarātriṇa work describes himself as a Kashmirian of the Ekāyana lineage, whose father was Devadatta, son of Rātradatta.¹⁶²

Hrasvanātha and Cakrabhānu

Hrasvanātha initiated five disciples according to the **Kramavaṃśāvalī* and six according to Jayaratha.¹⁶³ The foremost of these was Cakrabhānu, whom Krama tradition reports to have been an ascetic following the [Kāpālīka] observance as a skull-carrying denizen of the cremation ground (*mahāvratadharaḥ*).¹⁶⁴

Now the Kashmirian historian Kalhaṇa reports in his *Rājataranginī*, written between 1148/49 and 1149/50, that a brahmin ascetic of this name was punished by King Yaśaskara (r. A.D. 939–948) for transgressing the limits of brahmanical conduct (*atyācāraḥ*) in a *cakramelakaḥ*. He also reports the claim of the Gurus of this tradition that the Yogin Vīranātha, who, he tells us, was Yaśaskara's minister of war and peace and Cakrabhānu's maternal uncle, took

¹⁶¹ This assertion is seen in GNOLI 1974, p. 453 and 1989, p. 125; and TORELLA 1994, p. 482.

¹⁶² *Samvitprakāśa*, f. 5r6–9 (vv. 153–155, end): *rātradattir devadatto ratnādevyāṃ yaṃ ātma-jam | lebhe vāmanadattākhyam tatstutyā prīyate hariḥ | śaṣṭyuttaram ślokaśatam idaṃ bodham vināpi yaḥ | paṭhen madhuripor agre bhaktyā mokṣam sa gacchati | ekāyane prasūtasya kāśmīreṣu dvijanmanah | kṛtir vāmanadattasya seyam bhagavadāśrayā. iti samvitprakāśanāma prathamam prakaraṇam* 'Hari delights in the hymn of Vāmanadatta, whom Devadatta, son of Rātradatta, obtained as his son by Ratnādevī. Whoever recites these 160 verses in the presence of Viṣṇu with devotion, even if he does not understand them, attains liberation. This work on the Lord is Vāmanadatta's, a brahmin born in Kashmir in the Ekāyana [lineage]. Here ends the first Prakaraṇa, called the *Samvitprakāśa*'.

¹⁶³ *Tantrālokaṭīkā*, vol. 3, pp. 193, l. 16–197, l. 4.

¹⁶⁴ See Arṇasimha's *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa*, v. 156 in footnote 194 on p. 294.

revenge by performing a ritual of chastisement (*nigrahakarma*) that caused the king's death:¹⁶⁵

The king, having committed himself vigorously to the task of supervising the caste-classes and [brahmanical] disciplines discovered that a brahmin ascetic called Cakrabhānu had transgressed prescribed brahmanical conduct in a *cakramelakah* and, being submissive to his religious obligations as a king, punished him by branding his forehead with the shape of a dog's foot. The [Śākta] Gurus, promoting their standing by [pointing to] the power of their predecessors, confidently proclaim that in his fury at this the Yogin Vīranātha, who was the king's own minister of war and peace and Cakrabhānu's maternal uncle, performed [a ritual of] chastisement against him. The story that they themselves have put about is that [as a result] the king died at the end of seven days.¹⁶⁶ But how can that be reasonable when [in fact] what killed him was the illness from which he had long been suffering?

I propose that this is the Cakrabhānu of our Krama lineage and that Vīranātha, his maternal uncle and Yaśakara's minister, is none of other than his Guru Hrasvanātha. For, as we have seen, Hrasvanātha was also known as Vīranātha in the Krama's literature, and the placing of these events in Yaśaskara's

¹⁶⁵Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 6.108–112: *varṇāśramapratyavekṣābaddhakakṣyaḥ kṣitiśvaraḥ | cakrabhānvabhidhaṃ cakramelake dvijatāpasam | kṛtātyācāram ālokyā *rājadharmavaśaṃvadaḥ* (em. : *rājā dharmavaśaṃvadaḥ* Ed.) | *nijagrāha śvapādena lalāṭataṭam anikayan | tanmā-tulena tadroṣād vīranāthena yoginā | sām̐dhivigrahikēnātha sa svenaiva nyagr̥hyata | pūrvā-cāryaprabhāveṇa svamāhātmyādhiropāṇam | prakhyāpayadbhir gurubhiḥ śraddhayeti yad ucyate | tatkhyaṇpitaiva saptāhāt sa vipanna iti śrutiḥ | dīrghavyādhibate tasminn upapattiḥ katham bhavet*. I have proposed the emendation *rājadharmavaśaṃvadaḥ* for the reading *rājā dharmavaśaṃvadaḥ* seen in STEIN's edition because it both removes the defect of the subject's being stated twice in the same sentence (*kṣitiśvaraḥ* and *rājā*) and provides an apt adjectival qualification of the former ('submissive to his religious obligations as a king'), *rājadharmah* being a term of art for the special obligations imposed on rulers by the Dharmaśāstra, which include that of ensuring the punishment of wrongdoers.

¹⁶⁶Texts of the Mantramārga regularly specify seven days as the period for which a fire-sacrifice for such a *siddhiḥ* must be maintained, saying that its effect comes about at the end of that time; see, e.g., *Kubjikāmata* 23.151: *sadā kruddhena kartavyaṃ nigrahaṃ saptavāsaraḥ*; *Picumata*, f. 70v4 (14.226cd): *saptarātreṇa deveśi mānayed *ripupūṅgavaṃ* (ripu conj. : *vapu* Cod.); *Picumata*, f. 251r3 (55.58ab): *rājānan tu vaśaṃ kuryāt saptarātrā(n) na saṃśayaḥ*; *Vīṇāśikha* 198c–199b: *juhuyāt saptarātraṃ tu yasya nāmnā tu sādhaḥ | vidviṣṭo dṛśyate loke eṣa vidveṣaṇaṃ param*; *Uddāmareśvara* 1.51cd: *saptarātraprayogena sarvaśatrupraṇāśanam*. It is for this reason that I have understood Kalhaṇa's use of the verb *nī-grh-* (*nyagr̥hyata*) to refer to the kind of ritual known as a *nigrahakarma*, as in the first of these examples of seven-day hostile ceremonies.

reign accords, as we shall see, with other evidence of the chronology of these Gurus.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, the *cakramelakaḥ* to which Kalhaṇa refers and that STEIN tentatively suggested in his translation of the *Rājatarāṅginī* might be a place-name, is in fact a Kaula ritual, 'a gathering (-*melakaḥ*) of a circle (*cakra*-)' of male initiates and low-caste Yoginīs with a strongly orgiastic character.

The ritual is set out in detail as one of the Krama's periodic ceremonies in the *Kālikulakramārcana* of Vimalaprabodha, the Guru of the Nepalese king Arimalla (r. 1200–1216),¹⁶⁸ under the name *cakrakraṇḍā*.¹⁶⁹ The sponsor invites the Guru and male initiates of the three grades to a house together with sixteen, eight, or four Yoginīs of specified castes, mostly or exclusively low, beneath the rank of Śūdra.¹⁷⁰ He sets up a [wine-]pot, worships the Goddess in it with the

¹⁶⁷ See p. 414.

¹⁶⁸ That Vimalaprabodha was the Guru of Arimalla is stated in the colophon reported by PETECH (1984, pp. 81–82) of a manuscript of the *Amṛteśvarapūjā* of Abhayamalla, Arimalla's successor, penned in A.D. 1216. It describes Arimalla as *śrīmadvimalaprabodhapādaprasādāl labdhābhīṣeka*- 'consecrated by the favour of the venerable Guru Vimalaprabodha'.

¹⁶⁹ *Kālikulakramārcana* ff. 20r2–21r1, 21r5–v3: *athācāryasādhakaputrakasamayijanān yoginī-kulasahitān āmantrayet. yathā brāhmaṇī paukkasī dhvajinī antyajā cakriṇī *chippinī* (corr. : *chippinā* Cod.) *saunakī kṣatriṇī mātaṅgī carmakārī dhīvarī mahāmāti(h) śūdrī vaiśyī veśyā dhāvakī nartakī ity uttamayoginikulam. dhīvarī dhvajinī chippinī paukkasī carmakārī antyajā naṭī veśyā iti madhyamayoginikulam. dhīvarī dhvajinī chippinī paukkasī ity adhamayoginikulam. yathā śobhanagrhe kumbhaṃ saṃsthāpya sveṣṭakramasahitām tatra devīm saṃpūjya pañcavāhamāṇḍalopari balipātraṃ niveśya samayahrdayena tādanaprokṣaṇanirīkṣaṇābhīṣaṇasamikarāṇādikam sthānasya kṛtvā āsanāni saṃsthāpya pratyekaikāsane pañcākālāsānān saṃpūjya guhyahrdayena pādaprakṣālana**pūrvakam* (corr. : *pūrvaka* Cod.) *tatrāsane upaveśayet. upaviṣṭe sati mahāsamayahrdayena vāmāvartakrameṇa dvārād dvāraṃ yāvadvad avicchinnaṃ *surādhārām* (corr. : *surādhārām* Cod.) *dadyāt. tata ācāryaṃ guruparamparāyātāṃ siddhakrameṇa saṃpūjya sādhakān virakrameṇa putrakān pīthakrameṇa samayinaḥ kṣetrakrameṇa *yoginīs* (corr. : *yoginī* Cod.) *catuḥkramābhyantare pratyekaikakramaikena pūjayet. tilakakajjalasindūrapuspavāstrālaṃkāraṃ yathākrameṇa svasvavidyayā dattvā pātrāṇi jyeṣṭhānukrameṇa pañcāmṛtādisahitāni pañcavāhamāṇḍalopari purataḥ sthāpayet. khānapānalehyacoṣyādikam guhyahrdayābhimantritaṃ purataḥ sthāpayitvā samayacchommakam sarvairiṣṭāḥ saha bhāṣed yathā HĀ HĀ HĀ sṛṣṭau HIṬI HIṬI sthitau KRE KRE saṃhāre ĀRA ĀRA anākhye KULURU KULURU bhāṣāyām. upasaṃhārasaṃkhyākrameṇa devatātārpaṇaṃ kṛtvā samayabalim dadyāt. ... (f. 21r1–5). *tataḥ pūrvoktām vai *bhāṣām* (corr. : *bhāṣām* Cod.) *samuccārya pātrāṇi dāpayet, vāmahastena grhṇīyāt. ādau śaktes tadanantaram sarveṣām. evaṃ tridhā. pūrvasamskṛtacarukam lelihāmudrayā *pradīpaṃ* (conj. : *paridīpaṃ* Cod.) *ca bhakṣaṇīyam. tadante yathāsukhena śrīkramasadbhāvoktakrameṇa cakrakraṇḍā. samāptyante pañcavāham saṃpūjya dakṣāvartena dhārām nipātya madhyānte samayabalim dattvā cakrasthānam gomayenopalīpya puspēna pūjayet. iti cakrakraṇḍāvidhiḥ.***

¹⁷⁰ The source of the list of sixteen Yoginīs is *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 10r12–12 (4.47c–49): *brāhmaṇī *paukkasī* (*paukkasī* Cod.) *caiva dhvajinī antyajā tathā | 48 cakriṇī ca tathā *chippī*

deities of his preferred Krama phase, places the vessel for the bali offering on a Maṇḍala diagram in which he has worshipped the [goddesses of the] Five Flows (*pañcavāhamāṇḍalam*), ritually prepares the ground of the site, sets out seats for each of the guests on it, installs and worships the five deities from Brahmā to Sadāśiva on each, so transforming them into thrones for the installation of Bhairavas or goddesses, washes the feet of each guest, invites them to be seated, pours a continuous stream of liquor around the periphery of the site from door to door, moving from right to left, and worships the Guru, Sādhakas, Putrakas, and Samayins with the Mantras of the Siddhas, Vīras, Pīṭhas, and Kṣetras respectively, and the Yoginīs with the Mantras of the four phases from Emission to the Nameless, one for each, so that the Mantra of each phase is used four times if they are sixteen. Then he gives each a forehead mark, collyrium for the eyes, vermilion powder, flowers, cloth, and other offerings, using the Mantra with which each has been worshipped, sets before them cups [of wine] with the five nectars and the rest¹⁷¹ on the Five Flow Maṇḍala in the order of their seniority, together with various foods and drinks, addressing each of the guests with the arcane utterances known as *chommakāni* for each of the five phases, from Emission to the Nameless and the Pure Light (*bhāsā*).¹⁷² After gratifying

(corr. : *chippi* Cod.) *śauṇikī* (em. : *śauṇḍikī* Cod.) **kṣatriyī* (corr. : *kṣatrīṇī* Cod.) *tathā* | *mātaṅgī carmakārī ca dhīvarī ca mahāmate* | 49 *śūdrī* **vaiśyī* (corr. : *vaiśā* Cod.) *tathā veśyā* **dhāvākī* (em. : *vāyākī* Cod.) *nartakī tathā* | *etās tu pūjayet tatra jātyahamkāravarjitah* ‘He should worship without pride of caste [Yoginīs of] the following [groups]: brahmin, Pukkasa untouchable, liquor-seller, Antyaja untouchable, potter, dyer, butcher, Kṣatriya, Mātaṅga untouchable, leather-worker, fisherman, O wise one, Śūdra, Vaiśya, courtesan, washerman, and dancer.’ Vimalaprabodha’s *mahāmatih*, which appears to raise the total to seventeen, is due to a misconstrual of the vocative *mahāmate* in 4.48d. The same verses are *Yonigahvara*, f. 9r3–5 (vv. 113–115b), which support the emendations *pukkasī*, *śauṇikī*, and *kṣatriyī* but have *kaṇḍukī* (corr. : *kandukī* Cod.) ‘barber, f.’ in place of *cakrīṇī* and the error *mahāmatih*. They are followed by a verse specifying the Yoginīs to be invited in the option of four as in the *Kālikulakramārcana* (115c–116b): *catvāri-m-athavā pūjyā yathā vibhāvavistaraiḥ* | *dhīvarī dhvajinī chippī pukkasī ca caturthikā* ‘Or he may worship four, as abundantly as his resources allow, one from each of the following castes: fisherman, liquor-seller, dyer, and Pukkasa untouchable’. For *chippī* ‘dyer’ or ‘cloth-printer’ see the evidently cognate words with this meaning in various Indo-Aryan languages in TURNER 1966–71, p. 273b (4994) under **chapp-* (/ **chipp-*) ‘to press’.

¹⁷¹For the identity of the body-products called the five ‘jewels’ or ‘nectars’ see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 110–114 (footnote 63).

¹⁷²These five *chommakāni* are as follows: HĀ HĀ, HIṬI HIṬI, KRE KRE, ĀRA ĀRA, and KULURU KULURU. I propose that their language is Dravidian: (1) with HĀ HĀ for Emission/Creation cf. Tamil *ā-* ‘to come into existence’; (2) with HIṬI HIṬI for Stasis/Maintenance cf. Tulu *hiḍi* ‘a hold, grasp, handful’, Kannaḍa *piḍi* ‘to seize, catch, grasp’, Tamil *piṭi* ‘to grasp, cling to’; (3) with KRE

the Krama's deities in the order of progressive withdrawal he presents a food offering on the ground to placate the classes of male supernaturals that inhabit the Śākta power-sites and the various classes of non-human Yoginīs, ending with an invocation to the Goddess. With the same *chommakāni* he passes the guests the wine cups with his left hand, refilling them twice, serving the principal Yoginī first and then the rest.¹⁷³ They should also eat the sacramental substances and the dough lamps (*dīpacaruḥ*) that are considered a substitute for human flesh.¹⁷⁴ After that, group revelry (*cakrakraḍā*) should follow. When it has ended the sponsor should worship the goddesses of the Five Flows, pour out another stream of wine around the periphery, this time from left to right, place a second food offering on the ground at the edge of the central area, purify the site by smearing it with cow-dung mixed with water, and then honour it with the offering of a flower at its centre.

An idea of the revelry envisaged may be gained from the fourth *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, where the ritual, described immediately after chapters devoted to Krama worship,¹⁷⁵ is termed a *vīramelāpah* 'a gathering of Vīras':¹⁷⁶

KRE for Withdrawal cf. Tamil *karai* 'to dissolve, become gradually attenuated'; (4) with ĀRA ĀRA for the Nameless, in which the three preceding phases are transcended in a state of blissful pervasion, cf. Tamil *ār* 'to become full, be satisfied', Kannaḍa *ār* 'to abound, be filled'; and (5) with KULURU KULURU for the Pure Light, representing final quiescence, cf. Tamil *kuḷir* 'to feel cool, get numbed (as in death), satisfied', 'to sit, rest', Kannaḍa *kuḷir* 'to be cool or cold'; and Malayalam *kuḷir*, *kuḷur* 'coldness, cool, refreshing'.

¹⁷³Vimalaprabodha's text says 'first the Śakti and then all' (*ādau śaktes tadanantaram sarve-ṣām*). I surmise that the Śakti is the consort of the Guru.

¹⁷⁴On the *dīpacaruḥ* see *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 11 (*Āhnika* 29), p. 51, ll. 16–19 (quoting *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 125v1–3 [for *adhāra*- there read *ādhāre*]). For its being a substitute for human flesh see *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 11 (*Āhnika* 29), p. 39, l. 11.

¹⁷⁵See footnote 84 on p. 262.

¹⁷⁶*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, ff. 206v3–207v5 (*Vīratāṇḍavavidhipaṭala*, vv. 5–30b): *āśritya śaraṇaṃ guptaṃ sarvabādhāvivariṇitaṃ | suśobhaṃ *kusumāmodasudhūpagandhamantharam (kusumāmōda em. : kumbhamāmōda Cod.) | 6 kulaparvaṃ samāsādya vīramelāpaṃ ācāret | nimantrayet tataḥ sarve bhairavācārapālākāḥ | 7 samayaṇṇā devibhaktāḥ samtuṣṭāḥ kramatatparāḥ | samayinaḥ putrakāś ca sādhakā deśikāḥ pare | 8 yogīnyo yāḥ prabuddhāś ca *bhaktā vā tadalābhataḥ (em. : bhaktāpātādalahataḥ Cod.) | *āṇīya vāpy āsa-hitān tāmbūlādiyutān kuru (conj. : āṇīya tāpyasahatāmvrūtādiyutān kuru Cod.) | 9 āsanāny atra deyaṇī *yathāvat (em. : yathā tat Cod.) kramayogataḥ | pūjyāni prañavenaiva gandhabhūpasragādibhiḥ | 10 *tatropaveśayet (em. : tatopaveśayet Cod.) samyag yathācakranīyogataḥ | gurūṇāṃ prathamāṃ cakram sādhakānāṃ dvitīyakam | 11 tṛtīyāṃ putrakāṇāṃ syāc caturthāṃ *samayiṣv atha (em. : samayeṣv atha Cod.) | yoginīnāṃ pañcamāṃ syād evaṃ kuryāt krameṇa ca | 12 sarvavīrasamāyoge tatra āvartayed giriḥ | pañcāsārṇa *mayīm śaktim (em. : mayā śaktiḥ Cod.) kālī sā sakalāvyayā | 13 navavīrasamāyogas (em. : nacavīrasamā-*

On the day sacred to the Lineage [of his Mother-goddess the sponsor] should celebrate a Vīramelāpa in a pleasant, secluded house that is free of all disturbances and full of the scent of flowers, fine incense, and fragrant powders. He should invite all those who maintain the observance of Bhairava, who know the discipline, are devoted to the Goddess, contented, intent on the Krama, Samayins, Putrakas, Sādhakas, Gurus, and Yoginīs, the last enlightened or, if such cannot be found, at least devout. When he has brought those [initiates there, together with the Yoginīs] *or even without them (*conj.*) he should provide them with betel nuts and the like and offer them seats in the proper order [of precedence]. He should [first] worship these seats with the Praṇava (OM),

yogaṃ Cod.) tasyāntaḥ pravijrmbhate | tena tad vīramelāpaṃ pūjayet *parameśvari (corr. : parameśvarī Cod.) | 14 arghaiḥ puspaiḥ tathā dhūpaiḥ candanāgurucarcitaiḥ | pratyekam arcayet tatra yathāvivbhavayogataḥ | 15 praticakrasya madhyasthaṃ pūjayen *madyabhairavam (em. : madhyabhairavam Cod.) | kṣṇalohitaraktākṣaṃ paramāmodavāsitaṃ | 16 mahānandakaram śreṣṭhaṃ jagadunmādakarakam | evaṃ saṃpūjya madhyasthaṃ pātrāṇy eṣāṃ prapūrayet | 17 mahākusumapūrṇāni pañca*ratnānvitāni (*conj.* : ratnacitāni Cod.) ca | paścād vividham āhāra(ṃ) teṣāṃ deyam atandritaṃ | 18 yad yasyābhimataṃ devi tat tasya *vitare śakrt (*conj.* [Aiśa] : vicaret sakrt Cod.) | nānā māṃsāni citrāṇi bhakṣyāṇy uccāvacāni ca | 19 lehya*peyāni (corr. : pehyāni Cod.) cūṣyāṇi pānāni vividhāni ca | kaṭutiktakaṣāyāni madhurāmlāni yāni ca | 20 evamādi-anekaḥ ca tarpayec cakrapaṇcakam | madhyāhne bhūya saṃtarpya yāvad ānanda*mantharam (em. : manthanam Cod.) | 21 tato hy arghaiḥ tathā geyair vīṇāvamśasvanaiḥ tathā | *śrotrotsavakaraiḥ (tent. *conj.* : śrotrodakakaraiḥ Cod.) citrais tarpayec cakrapaṇcakam | 22 tatas taccakragā raśmyaḥ prollassanti sutejitāḥ | sphuranti mahadānandā vilāsaśatasamkulā(h) | nr̥tyanti ca hasanty uccaiḥ valganti kṛḍanotsukāḥ | 23 patanti dhāvanti *vamanti (*conj.* : vāsanti Cod.) sarve vepanti khidyanti layanti tatra | jalpanti mantrāṇi rahasyam anye sanmarmayuktāni vacāṃsi cānye | 24 *chekoktayaś (*conj.* : kekoktapaś Cod.) cāpi vicitrarūpāḥ parasparam te pravādanti devi | kecic ca ḥkekāracanāvīr eti ḥkecic ca mudrāvalim ārabhante | 25ab kecic ca kaulāgamajair vilāśaiḥ saṃsthānakair nartanam ārabhante | 26 kecit tāṇḍavam ārabhanti subhātāḥ kecic ca ḥsarvoddhātāḥ ḥkecid bhairava-bhāvanāhitamanā jalpanti *kāvyam (*conj.* : kālam Cod.) pare | kecid *bāhum anekadhā (tent. *conj.* : dvādaśanekadhā Cod.) prācalitaṃ kurvanti tatrocakaiḥ kecid rodanatatparāḥ kim aparaṃ kecid ḥvrajanty āvilam† | 27 kecit *pañcavilāśajam (jam *conj.* : jā Cod.) rasavaram bhuñjanti tatrotsukāḥ ke cit†prāvaraṇāni cakravarāṇaiḥ†*saṃdarśayanty (corr. : saṃdarśayaty Cod.) udbhātāḥ | kecic ḥcakravānirgatenaḥśahasā svadeham ālambati | kecid vāntam *adanti (*conj.* : athamvi Cod.) ghorā*vapuṣaḥ (*conj.* : vapuṣam Cod.) *kecit tu hy atyutkātāṃ (*conj.* : kā citrutantotkātāṃ Cod.) | ke cin maithunam ārabhanti ca pibanty atrodhavam nirbharāḥ | 28 evaṃ vīravarendravandyacaraṇe melāpaṃ atyuttamam | vīrākhyam pravitatya raśminikarān uccaiḥ samutpadyate dr̥ṣṭvā yat prabhavanti tatkrama*parā (*conj.* : varā Cod.) kiṃ vā *bahu (em. : bahur Cod.) varṇyate | saṃcārakramanirbharāḥ priyatame *parve tathaikāśāyāḥ (*conj.* [Aiśa] : paṃcāitathaikāśāyā Cod.) yad yasya prabalopadeśa*karanam (*conj.* : kara + Cod.) maudrakramodīritam | tat tasya pravijrmbhate param aho satyam na *caivānrtam (em. : caivāmrtam Cod.) | 29 vīratāṇḍavam etat te mayā samupavarṇitam | yenāśu kṛtamātrena sarvasiddhyarhatā bhavet | 30 kramajñānaikanipuṇo bhavaty eva hi *sādhakaḥ (em. : sādhakam Cod.).

presenting them such offerings as scented powder, incense, and flowers. Then he should invite the [guests] to sit on them, each in the appropriate circle. The first circle is of Gurus, the second of Sādhakas, the third of Putrakas, the fourth of Samayins, and the fifth of Yoginīs. In this way he should gradually accomplish the Union of all the Vīras (*sarvavīrasamāyogaḥ*). As he does this the [sponsoring] Sādhaka (*giriḥ*) should repeat the Power that consists of the fifty sounds [of speech]. [For] this is eternal Kālī in her immanent form. The Union of the *Nine (*conj.*) Vīras becomes manifest within it.¹⁷⁷ Then, O goddess, he should honour the assembly of Vīras (*vīramelāpaḥ*) with offerings of guest water, flowers, incenses, and pastes of sandal-wood powder and camphor. He should worship each [participant] in this [assembly] to the extent that his wealth permits. In the centre of each circle he should worship the Bhairava that is Wine (Madyabhairava), dark red and red-eyed, redolent with the best of fragrances, the cause of the highest joy, the best [of liquids], the intoxicator of the whole world. After worshipping it thus in the centre he should fill cups for them [from it], which should [also] be well provided with the flowers of the human body and the five nectars. Then with great attentiveness he should serve them foods of the various kinds. Again and again, O goddess, he should give them whatever it is that they desire: meat of various sorts, diverse foods of the masticable variety, both exquisite and commonplace, foods to be licked, drunk, and sucked, drinks of many kinds, acrid, pungent, astringent, sweet, and sour. With various [offerings] such as these he should gratify the five circles. Then at midday he should gratify them again until they are overflowing with joy. Then he should please the five circles with guest water, songs, and diverse music of the lute and flute to delight their ears. At this the rays [of their awareness] shine forth with great intensity, vibrant, blissful, flooded by so many delights. They dance, laugh out loud, and leap about eager to revel. They collapse, run, vomit, tremble, become weary, and faint. Some voice Mantras, others the secret [teachings], and others words that contain the core teachings [of the Krama]. [Some] exchange clever *banter with double meanings (*conj.*), and some †...†. Some assume series of Mudrās. Some begin to dance with playful gestures [and] postures taught in the Kaula scriptures. Others, who are warriors, commence the [wild] Tāṇḍava dance [of Śiva], and some †...†. Others focus their minds in meditation on Bhairava, others give voice to *poetry (*conj.*), some *hold their arms above their heads in various postures and sway them from side to side (*conj.*), some abandon themselves there to loud weeping, and others become †...†. Others there ea-

¹⁷⁷ The justification for the emendation of the manuscript's reading *nacavīra*- here to *navavīra*- is that it may refer to nine Vīras as the regents of the nine groups of the fifty sounds: the vowels, the seven consonant groups, and the final kṣa. But the matter is not certain. It is tempting to propose *sarvavīra*-. In either case the idea seems to be that the recitation of the goddess as the syllabary embodies internally the Union of Vīras that the sponsor is establishing externally.

gerly devour the excellent liquid *that arises from the five Vilāsas (*conj.*). Some vigorously display †...†. Some suddenly suspend their bodies †...†. Some, personifying [A]ghora, eat vomit, and others *faeces (*atyutkaṭam*) (*conj.*).¹⁷⁸ Some will engage in copulation and drink its product when replete. O you whose feet are worshipped by the foremost of Vīras, when in this way it has expanded to the utmost the fused mass of the rays [of its consciousness] the supreme Vīramelāpa comes into being. By beholding it [initiates] become intent on this Krama. What need is there for lengthy instruction? My beloved, [by engaging in this gathering] *on the sacred day (*conj.*) they are filled with the cyclical Krama, their minds as one. Whatever mighty teaching proclaimed in [this *Ṣaṭka* on] the practice of the Mudrās a person has received becomes completely clear to him [through this means]. Behold, the truth. This is indeed no lie. I have taught you this wild dance of the Vīras (*vīratandavaḥ*), by celebrating which a Sādhaka quickly becomes able to accomplish any *siddhiḥ* and supremely adept in the gnosis of the Krama.

Neither the *Kālikulakramārcana* nor the *Jayadrathayāmala* uses exactly Kalhaṇa's term *cakramelakaḥ* ('the circle gathering') for this ritual, the former calling it *cakrakerīḍā* ('the circle revelry') and the latter *vīramelāpaḥ* ('the gathering of heroes') (= *vīramelakaḥ*). But the term does occur in Kashmirian literature in what is evidently the appropriate sense in a story of the supernatural in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. There a band of Yoginīs is said to go at the onset of night to a *cakramelakaḥ* in Cakrapura and to return from it at its end.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, in the Kaula *Kubjikāmata* we find the related expression

¹⁷⁸For the use of the term *atyutkaṭam* in this sense see *Niśiṣaṃcāra*, f. 7v1–3, quoted in SANDERSON 2005a, p. 112, ll. 31–33). For ritual tasting of the body's excretions in extreme 'non-dual practice' (*advaitācāraḥ*, *nirvikalpācāraḥ*) see, e.g., *Niśiṣaṃcāra* f. 34v (11.9c–10b): **atyutkaṭam śivāmbuṇ* (em. : *atyutkaṭa śivammuṇ* Cod.) *ca prātar utthāya mantravit | astramantreṇa *saṃśodhya* (corr. : *saṃśodhyam* Cod.) **mṛṇālāmṛtasamyutam* (*mṛṇālāmṛta* em. : *mṛṇāmṛta* Cod.) | *kṛtvā tu prāśayen mantri yadicchet siddhim ātmani* 'After rising at dawn the Sādhaka should purify excrement and urine with the Weapon-Mantra, combine it with phlegm and taste it if he desires *siddhiḥ* for himself. It is also seen in a less testing form in the Krama in the *vaṭikāprāśanam* taught as an element of daily practice in the *Yonigahvara*, vv. 212–221. This requires initiates when preparing the chalice for daily worship to swallow a pellet (*vaṭikā*, *gutikā*) made from substances that include excrement (*viśvakaṣāram*) and urine (*śivāmbu*). The preparation of this pellet is detailed in *Kālikulakramārcana*, f. 24v3–25v2. The pellet, we are told there, should have the size of the kernel of a jujube fruit (f. 24v5: *badarāsthīsusammitām*).

¹⁷⁹*Kathāsaritsāgara* 123.212–213b: *tatkālam cātra jānāmi tato mātrgaṇāntarāt | nirgatya yoginīgrāmaḥ parasparam abhāṣata | adya cakrapure 'smābhīr gantavyaṃ cakramelake* 'Then that time [of the onset of night] I noticed a band of Yoginīs who came out from that group of Mothers and said to each other "Today we have to go to a *cakramelakaḥ* in Cakrapura"; 123.221:

yoginīcakramelāpaḥ ('a circle gathering of Yoginīs'), described as loud with the sound of dancing and music.¹⁸⁰ Everything therefore, points to the conclusion that the protagonists of Kalhaṇa's report are our Krama Gurus Hrasvanātha and Cakrabhānu: their names, the reign to which Kalhaṇa assigns them, the identification of the *cakramelakah*, its place in the Krama, and its strongly antinomian character.

It may be thought surprising that Hrasvanātha/Vīranātha, a revered figure of a tradition whose literature appears to be so concerned with practices for the attainment of liberation-in-life, should be depicted as seeking revenge for the punishment of Cakrabhānu by performing an aggressive Tantric ritual. For Kalhaṇa certainly does not question the tradition that Vīranātha performed the ritual of chastisement against the king but only that it was the cause of the latter's death. But undertaking such rites is certainly not inconsistent with his standing as a Guru of the Krama. We have seen that Abhinavagupta reports Eraka to have devoted himself to the pursuit of supernatural power before he wrote the *Kramastotra*; but more striking, because it pertains directly to the present case, is the fact that a text of the Krama itself supports Kalhaṇa's report of Hrasvanātha's involvement in this domain in an incidental remark in the course of a discussion of an option of abbreviating the Krama worship by omitting three of its phases:¹⁸¹

Those who achieve the highest rest within that [unobscured (*nirāvaraṇa*-) state] simply by [performing those phases of worship up to the circle of the Multitude (*vr̥ṇḍacakram*) that are known collectively as] the Oral Instruction do not need to worship the circles of Emission, Stasis, and Withdrawal, but proceed, it is

athāsmiṇ paścime yāme yoginīś cakramelakāt | āgatyā tāḥ svayuktyā mām hrtvaivodapatan nabhaḥ 'Then during this last watch of the night the Yoginīs returned from the *cakramelakah* and flew up into the sky by means of their miraculous power, taking me with them'.

¹⁸⁰ *Kubjikāmata* 25.18ab: *yoginīcakramelāpaṃ nr̥tyagītaravākulam*.

¹⁸¹ *Mahānayaṇaprakāśa* (Triv.) 8.24–28: *kathanād eva yeṣāṃ tadviśrāntir jāyate parā | *te sṛṣṭisthitisaṃbhāracakrāpekṣāṃ (te sṛṣṭi conj. : sṛṣṭi Ed.) na kurvate | vr̥ṇḍakramānantaram tair anākhyam cakram isyate | sṛṣṭyādicakratritayam tanmate naiva pūjyate | asmanmate *tu (conj. : 'pi Ed.) tad api *pāripūrṇārtham (conj. : paripūrṇārtham Ed.) isyate | etatsamārūḍhivaśāt prabhāvo hi pravartate | etadvimarśa*saṃbhūtam (conj. : saṃbhūta Ed.) vīrāvālyāḍitarpaṇāt | āsīd *vāmanavīryasya (em. : vāmanavīryasya Ed.) *vidveṣastambhanādikam (vidveṣa conj. : yadvīṣṇu Cod.). For the emendation *vidveṣastambhanādikam* in place of the evidently corrupt reading *yadvīṣṇustambhanādikam* cf., e.g., *Kiraṇa*, f. 71v2 (50.14cd): **vaśīkaraṇavidveṣau stambhanādy (vaśī corr. : vaśī Cod. • vidveṣau conj. : vidveṣo Cod.) adhamā matāḥ; Somaśambhupaddhati*, vol. 3, p. 47, v. 55ab: *māraṇoccātanadveṣastambhanārtham tu dakṣiṇe; Aṃśumadāgama* 13.36cd: *vaśyākaraṇavidveṣastambhanoccātanādikam*; and *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, f. 46v1–2: *uccātanam tathā karmaṃ vidveṣam stambhamāraṇam | kīlanam cāṅgabhedam ca kurute cintitena tu*.*

held, directly from the phase of the Multitude to the circle of the Nameless. In their view, then, these three [intervening] circles are not necessary. But in my view they should be included, for the sake of completeness. For immersion in them is the source of [supernatural] power. It was through his deep awareness of these, by gratifying the sequence of Vīras (*vīrāvalī*) and the rest [that are to be worshipped in them], that the Vīra Vāmana [was able successfully to accomplish the rituals that] caused dissension [among our enemies] and immobilized [their armies] (*vidveṣastambhanādikam*).¹⁸²

This evidence should caution us against the tendency to be misled by the focus apparent in this or that branch of the surviving Śaiva literature into assuming that the groups who produced and followed these texts were equally restricted in the range of their rites. Just as the Saiddhāntika and non-Saiddhāntika domains were less disjunct in practice than the doctrines articulated by their leading theoreticians, so, we see, a Guru of the Krama, for all the apparent dedication of his core tradition to purely transcendentalist self-realization, could draw as occasion arose on a wider range of practice for pragmatic purposes. In this case the rites in which he is said to have excelled have a close relation to his role as a servant of the state. For in the light of Kalhaṇa's report that Hrasvanātha was Yaśaskara's minister of war and peace it surely can-

¹⁸²Propitiating the deity for immobilization (*stambhanam*) is not restricted to this context. The texts speak also of *vākstambhanam* 'paralysing speech', *garbhastambhanam* 'preventing a foetus from being born', and of stopping wind, water, or fire (*vāyutoyāgnistambhanam*); see, e.g., *Picumata*, f. 35v1–2: *stambhane sarvabhūtānām *vāyutoyāgnistambhane* (conj. : *vāyustobhāgni* Cod.) | *stambhane parasainyasya *vācaḥ stambhe* (conj. : *vācastambhes* Cod.) *tathaiva ca* | *āsanastambhane caiva garbhādīnān tathaiva ca* | *śastam pipilikāmadhya(m) akṣasūtram varānane*. Three kinds of *stambhanam*, to stop the onset of an enemy army, to silence the speech [of an opponent], or to prevent the birth of a child [no doubt as a future dynastic rival], are taught in *Jayarathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 101v4–5 (14.126–127): *stambhayed gamanodyuktam api sainyam śatakratoḥ* | *evamvidhena vidhinā vācasam stambhayisyati* | *garbham vā (deva) deveśi *stambhayen* (corr. : *stambhaven* Cod.) *nātra saṁśayaḥ*. But protecting the kingdom by immobilizing the army of the enemy so that it cannot advance is much the most commonly mentioned, often being listed on a par with *vidveṣaḥ*, *uccāṭanam* and other primary pragmatic propitiations (*karma*), which implies that when no specific target of *stambhanam* is mentioned it is to be understood as *parasainyastambhanam* 'immobilization of the army of an enemy'; cf., e.g., *Vāladhārin*, *Kriyāsaṁgrahapaddhati*, f. 91v2–3: *śāntike pauṣṭike caiva vidveṣādīkrameṇa tu* | *stambhane *parasainyānām* (corr. : *parasainyāni* Cod.). To propitiate the deity for *vidveṣaḥ/vidveṣanam* is to seek to protect one's own side by turning one's allied enemies against each other; see, e.g., *Paippalādavaśādisaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 6, ll. 7–9: *śatruś ced *anyavidviṣṭaḥ* (em. : *anyavaddhiṣṭaḥ* Ed.) *syād anyadveṣatatparaḥ* | *tato 'sau niḥsapatnaḥ san rājyabhogaṁ samaśnute* | *tasmād rājā viṣeṣeṇa ripudveṣanam ācāret*.

not be thought coincidental that an author of the Krama, when remembering with approval his predecessor's expertise in this ancillary domain, should have singled out for mention these rites of state protection.

There are other reports of liberationist Gurus engaging in destructive rites of this kind, which, while hagiographical and therefore unreliable as records of history, nonetheless demonstrate that the co-existence of these extremes was not considered aberrant. A striking parallel is found in the Great Perfection (rDzogs chen) tradition of the rNying ma pa Buddhists of Tibet, which has much in common with the Krama by virtue of its emphasis on enlightenment through direct experience of the Great Primordial Purity (*gzhi ka dag chen po*), this being conceived in a manner strongly reminiscent of the Krama as an innate, self-established state of unbounded freedom (*ye grol*) that manifests differentiation in consciousness but is untouched in its essence by the dichotomies of cognition and the cognized, conceptual and non-conceptual awareness, liberation and bound existence (*nirvāṇam* and *samsārah*). For an early authority in this tradition, gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, is remembered for having destroyed a rebel army through the power of aggressive Mantras (*ngan sngags*).¹⁸³

Both the Krama and rDzogs chen present themselves as the ultimate approach to reality, transcending all lower levels of revelation. The Krama identifies, as we shall see, a level of higher practice within itself that by reaching the goal through pure intuition transcends the gradualist system of Krama worship, while that system is said to transcend the Kālī worship of the Uttarāmnāya, which itself is presented as the summit of a subordinate Śākta hierarchy that leads down to its base in the non-Śākta Śaiva traditions.¹⁸⁴ Similarly rDzogs chen, which like the Krama culminates in practice for sudden enlightenment, locates itself as the Atiyoga teaching at the summit of a hierarchy that descends through the teachings of the Anuyogatantras, Mahāyogatantras, Yogatantras, and Ubhayatantras to the Kriyātantras, which in turn are ranked above the Sūtras of the Mahāyāna substrate. But neither the Krama nor rDzogs chen cuts itself off from these lower levels. For they are essential to their survival. This is partly because both draw their meaning from these wider contexts as gnostic disciplines that transcend the Tantric systems from within. But it is also because the systems defined as lower provide these Śākta and Buddhist Tantric adepts

¹⁸³See ACHARD 1999, pp. 17–22. He is said to have been ordained by Śāntarakṣita, therefore during the reign of Khri strong lde bstan (r. 755–797), and to have founded a community of lay Tantric initiates (*ibid.*, p. 17).

¹⁸⁴For this hierarchy see footnote 363 on p. 344.

of sudden enlightenment with the means of operating on other levels as occasion demands and patronage expects. Thus gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes was also learned in the Anuyoga- and Mahāyogatantras; and these are the probable source of the Mantras, no doubt of the deities Vajrakīlaya or Yamāntaka, with which he is said to have destroyed the rebels.¹⁸⁵

The Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā

Attributed to Cakrabhānu we have only one short text, the *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā*, and no reports of other works. This text is not mentioned by name in any Kashmirian source, nor does the author confirm his identity by stating his position in the Kashmirian Krama's transmission. But it is included in a codex which, though Nepalese, contains other Kashmirian Krama works from this lineage,¹⁸⁶ a line is quoted from it without attribution in a text of Krama inspiration by the Kashmirian Ramyadeva,¹⁸⁷ and the author describes himself in the final verse as 'one whose body is adorned with [pieces of] human bone and a skull-bowl',¹⁸⁸ which agrees with the report already mentioned that the Kashmirian Cakrabhānu was a Mahāvratin ascetic.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, it contains a verse which brings to mind that ascetic's punishment by Yaśaskara:¹⁹⁰

When [again] may I follow my path in the company of proud Viras at the onset of night, my mind made blissful through withdrawal, behaving †.....† of the Devīkula?¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵See ACHARD 1999, p. 19, footnote 30.

¹⁸⁶See the details of the *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* ms in the bibliography, p. 437.

¹⁸⁷*Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā*, v. 3cd (f. 93v5–96r1) is quoted in his commentary on v. 47 of the *Bhāvopahāraṣṭotra*: *nirastaśāstrārthavikalpajālā (Ed. : nirastaśāstāsavikalpajālā Cod.) *devyāḥ (Ed. : devyāḥ Cod.) śmaśāne karavīrakākhye.

¹⁸⁸*Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā*, f. 95r1–3 (v. 12 and colophon): pīṭhāravindadalakam śivaśaktigarbham vīrāsthikandalavibhūṣitavigraheṇa | stutvā mayā śubhaphalam yad avāptam adya tenāśu sajjanaajanāḥ prasavam vrajantu. iti śrīmaccaṅkrāgatā śrīcakrabhānunāthāvatāritā śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā samāptā.

¹⁸⁹Arṇasimha, *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa*, v. 157, cited in footnote 194 on p. 294.

¹⁹⁰*Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā*, f. 94v1–2 (v. 8): rātryāgame garvitavīrasārdham (garvita em. : gavita Cod.) samḥāraṇānanditacittavṛttiḥ | devīkulā† + sya†viceṣṭitaḥ†syān†mārgānuyāyī bhavitā kadāham.

¹⁹¹I can offer no compelling emendation for the whole of the corrupt reading devīkulā† + syaviceṣṭitaḥsyān†. Perhaps the final part was -viceṣṭitaḥ san. I see no acceptable solution to devīkulā + sya if ā and sya are sound. If one or both are corrupt, the possibilities of restoration, such as devīkulācāryaviceṣṭitaḥ san, are too numerous for any one of them to carry conviction.

The Krama Lineage from Cakrabhānu to Arṇasimha

The Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* and its Sanskrit commentary venerate this unrepentant Guru as the first of the Order of the Disciples (*śiṣyaughah*), following Maṅgalā, who alone constitutes the Order of Siddhas (*siddhaughah*), and the Human Order (*mānavauḡah*), which comprises [Jñāna]netra, the Rājñī [Keyūravatī], and Hrasvanātha; and it declares that he initiated eight disciples, one of whom, Rājñī Īśānī, was the source of the lineage that led to the author of the commentary.¹⁹²

From the spiritual descendants of Cakrabhānu we have the *Aṣṭikā* of his disciple Prabodhanātha, the *Paramārcanātrimṣikā*¹⁹³ and *Cittasamtoṣatrimṣikā* of Nāga, and the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Nāga's disciple Kulācārya Arṇasimha. The last of these works provides the details of the line of succession that enables us to assign them to it. Its author reports that the tradition has reached him through two lines of descent (*gurusamṭatiḥ*) from the two among Cakrabhānu's pupils whose names survive, Īśānī and Prabodhanātha:

1. Īśānī → Nandaka → Sajjana → Someśvara → himself.
2. Prabodha → Jaiyaka → Paṅkaka → Nāga → himself.

Two of these he describes as ascetics who, like Cakrabhānu, observed the [Kāpālika] Mahāvratā: Īśānī (*pañcamudrāvibhūṣitā*), and Jaiyaka (*mahāvratī*). Prabodha he describes both as an ascetic (*tapodhanah*) and, like Hrasvanātha, as the foremost of Vīras (*vīrendraḥ*).¹⁹⁴

¹⁹²Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 9.5 and commentary. On the Kashmirian use of the term Rājñī for a female Śākta (→ Modern Kashmiri *rōññī*) see SANDERSON 2005a, p. 126, footnote 91.

¹⁹³Verse 2 (f. 34v5–6) is quoted by the South Indian Krama author Maheśvarānanda (*Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 108: *yad uktam arcanātrimṣikāyām*).

¹⁹⁴Arṇasimha, *Mahānayaprakāśa*, ff. 119r5–121r4 (vv. 152–169): 152 *udgītha*piṭhajā* (em. : *piṭhajā* Cod.) *śrīmanmaṅgalānandanānirbharā* | *sadasadbhāsanāveśavarjitā tām ahaṃ śraye* | 153 *tataḥ śrīmacchivānandanāthaguruvaraṃ sadā* | *lokottaramahājñānacakṣuṣaṃ praṇamāmy aham* | 154 *śrīmatkeyūravatyākhyā piṭhajājñānapāragā* | *khacakracāriṇī yeyam tām ahaṃ naumi bhaktitaḥ* | 155 *mahāvīravaro yo 'sāv śrīmadvāmanasaṃjñakaḥ* | *devīdhāmnī sadā-rūḍhas taṃ vande kramabhāskaram* | 156 *tataḥ śrīmaccakrabhānur devatānayaśeśikaḥ* | *mahāvratadharo yas taṃ vande 'haṃ paradhāmagam* | 157 *śrīmadīśānikākhyā yā pañcamudrāvibhūṣitā* | *akramakrama*saṃtānakovidāṃ (saṃtāna em. : santānā Cod.) tām namāmy aham* | 158 *mahānayaparañāna*vibhūṣitamānāḥ* (conj. : *vibhūṣitaḥ* Cod.) *sadā* | *śrīmannandakanāmā yas taṃ namāmi khadhāmagam* | 159 *śrīmatsajjananāmānam *raha-*

The Aṣṭikā of Prabodhanātha

It is unlikely that the *Aṣṭikā* that has reached us, a hymn to the Goddess in eight stanzas, is the work of a Prabodhanātha other than that mentioned by Arṇasimha. The text has come to us in the already mentioned Nepalese codex containing other Kashmirian Krama works, and although no attributed citation from it occurs in the surviving Kashmirian literature the first two verses commonly appear in the Kashmirian recitation-text of the *Bahurūpagarbhastotra*, a hymn to Svachchandabhairava that is attributed along with a frame-text to the *Lalitasvacchandabhairava*, and whose recitation is a standard preliminary in Śaiva ritual in Kashmir.¹⁹⁵ The two verses are placed at the end of the hymn proper and in this position enable it to reflect the two visualization-texts that are recited before it, these being not only of Svachchandabhairava but also of his consort Aghoreśvarī:¹⁹⁶

You I praise, the unborn beloved of Śiva in the lotus of [my] heart, seated in

syakramanirbharam (*rahasya* corr. : *rahasya* Cod.) | *bhedābhedakalanikais tu varjitam pra-*
ṇamāmy aham | 160 *nirmalasphaṭikaprakhyahṛdayam vigatāmayam* | *śrīmatśomeśvaram*
vande mahāśāsanapāragam | 161 *teneha kṛpayā mahyam sampradatto mahākramah* |
yenāham bhavanirvāṇakalanikair nāvṛto 'nīsam | 162 *atraiva kathyate 'smābhir dvitīyā*
gurusamtatiḥ | *pīṭhoditamahāmnāyarahasyakramanirbharā* | 163 *śrīcakrabhānupādais tu*
paramārthārthapāragaiḥ | *kṛtaprasādo virendrah śrīprabodhatapodhanah* | 164 *tenāhi-*
taprasādas tu jaiyakākhyo mahāvratī | *jñānasamkrānti'nirbhrāntiḥ* (conj. : *nirbhrāntah*
Cod.) *svānandānandananditah* | 165 *tenāpi 'śrīpaṇkakākhyo* (corr. : *śrīpaṇkakākhye*
Cod.) *dattaśrīkramaśāsanah* | *bhavatṛḍbhāntivibhāntividhvaṃsoccaṇḍadīdhitih* | 166 *tenāpi*
śrīnāganāmā deśikaprarāgrāṇih | **kṛtaprasādah* (em. : *kṛtaprasādo* Cod.) *paramāhlādo-*
dayavighnūṇitah | 167 *tenāpy aham* **mahāmnāyavare 'smīn* (em. : *mahāmnāyavarosmīn*
Cod.) *paramādbhute* | *abhiṣiktaḥ kṛpāśāntacitten'āvṛtatejasā* (em. : *āvṛtatejasā* Cod.) | 168
ittham proktā samtatis tu dvitīyaisā mahānaye | *nirāveśasamāveśa'camatkāraughanirbharā* (conj.
[= v. 3d; see here footnote 356 on p. 340] : *camatkārādyanirbharā* Cod.) | 169 *ittham*
paramparodhbhūtaḥ sadgurukramavistarah | *sthitō 'yam divyasiddhākhyā'manujātakrameṇa ca*
(*manujāta* em. : *manujāta* Cod.).

¹⁹⁵See, e.g., *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 5r11–16 (at the commencement of the initiation ceremony, after the worship of Gaṇeśa and Pustakavāgīśvarī): *tato vighnarājam pustakavāgīśm ca suprasannam bhāvayitvā taddattam svābhivāṇchitam varam bhāvanayā grhītvā śrībhairavanātha-prasannikarāṇāya mantrarājagarbham śrībahurūpagarbhastotram paṭhet*; *ibid.*, f. 9r12–14: *tataś ca śrībahurūpagarbhastavarājapāṭhānantaram ṣaḍadhvadiṣṭādhivāsārambhah*.

¹⁹⁶*Aṣṭikā*, vv. 1–2 (N, f. 96v1–3) and the modified *Bahurūpagarbhastotra*, vv. 35–36 (K): **sarvakāraṇakalāpakalpitollāsasamkulasamādhiviṣṭarām* (*sarva* K : *sadya* N) | *hārdakokanada-samsthitām api tvām prāṇaumi śivavallabhām ajām* (*hārda* K : *harmma* N) | *sarvajantu-hṛdayābjamaṇḍalodhbhūtabhāvamadhupānalampaṭām* (*sarva* K : *sadya* N • *maṇḍalodhbhūta* K : *maṇḍalodhbhūta* N) | **varṇabhedavibhāvāntarasthitām* (K : *varṇabhedavigatālivallabhām* N) *tvām prāṇaumi* **bhavajalabhedinīm* (N : *śivavallabhām ajām* K).

deepest consciousness on your throne that is full of the radiance created by all the Causes. You I praise, who are ever eager to drink the sweet wine exuded by the lotus-Manḍala in the innermost awareness of all living creatures, hidden within the pervasive power that is the variety of sounds, rending the snare of bound existence.

Since the context is the Krama the Causes intended here are probably the seven ascending deities Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, and Bhairava that form Kālī's throne in the worship taught by the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, becoming lifeless (*pretāḥ*) in her presence, resorbed as her state prevails, or, in the idiom of the primal sacrifice in the Karavīra cremation ground, offered as sacrifices to her, only Bhairava remaining intact, alive but comatose.¹⁹⁷

A verse from another, unnamed hymn to the Goddess by Prabodha is cited by Ramyadeva and Jayaratha:¹⁹⁸

You transcend whatever nature I may conceive as higher than you. Nor can I conceive of any reality, however low, in which you are not present in your entirety.

His identity with the Krama author is certain. For Arṇasimha calls the latter Prabodha the Ascetic (*viṇḍraḥ śrīprabodhatapodhanah*) and both Ramyadeva and Jayaratha refer to this Prabodha in the same way, the first calling him Ascetic Prabodhanātha (*tapasviprabodhanāthah*) and the second simply 'the venerable Ascetic' (*śrītapasvī*). Another verse has been cited by Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya, who calls him similarly the King among Ascetics (*tapasvirājah*). That this is from the same hymn is not certain; but it is probable, since both verses are in the Āryā metre.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 1v3 (1.19): for text and translation see p. 263; and f. 3r6 (1.80c–81): *tatas tu *sarve* (corr. : *sarvva* Cod.) *tatrasthāḥ paśutve kalpitāḥ sakṛt* | *mahābhairava ekas tu saṃmūrcchan tiṣṭhate tu *saḥ* (em : *yaḥ* Cod.) | *anye tu kāraṇāḥ sarve bhakṣitās tatra līlayā*. But when read as praise of Aghoreśvarī in the context of the recitation of the *Bahurūpagarbhasotra* the Causes would be understood as five in accordance with the system of the *Svacchanda*, the same without Indra and Bhairava (Brahmā to Sadāśiva). That these two verses have been added to the *Bahurūpagarbhasotra* is apparent from their absence from the text as it appears together with its frame in the commentary of Anantaśakti (*Bahurūpagarbhasotraviśamapadasaṃketa*) and the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, ff. 5v1–9r10.

¹⁹⁸ Ramyadeva on *Bhāvopahārastotra*, vv. 4–5 (p. 10), and Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 4.125 (vol. 2, p. 131): *parataratayāpi rūpaṃ yad yat kalayāmi tat tad adharaṃ te* | *adharatarāpi na kalanā sā kācid yatra na sthitāsy abhitaḥ*.

¹⁹⁹ *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 90, ll. 19–22: *suviśamamatādamaṣṭrāvidalitajanadhairyaṣaṇita-pipāsuh* | *aham iti piśāca eṣa tvatṣmṛtimātreṇa kimkaribhavati*.

It is enough to turn our thoughts to you to tame the ‘I’, this demon that thirsts to drink the blood that is the sense of men, tearing them open with its terrible fangs, belief in ‘mine’.

The Paramārcanatrīṃśikā and Cittasamtoṣatrīṃśikā of Nāga

As for Nāga, he identifies himself as the author of the two *-trīṃśikā* texts in their final verses²⁰⁰ but does not confirm his identity as a member of this lineage by naming his Guru. However, it is unlikely that they are not by the Nāga whom Arṇasimha identifies as the pupil of Paṅkaka, since both works use the terminology of the Kashmirian Krama. Their subject is the attainment of enlightenment through sudden immersion in the dynamic purity of consciousness (*sāhasasamādhīḥ*):²⁰¹

Is that [true] worship if in it one does not experience the surge of expanded consciousness within each and every movement of cognition, taking hold of the trance of sudden enlightenment, flooded with radiant, pure awareness?

a process articulated in the language of the Krama and with reference to elements of its cyclical model of the flow of cognition, but without delineating the phases of the Krama’s distinctive sequence of meditative worship:²⁰²

Is that [true] worship, in which one does not let go of the travails of one’s unliberated existence by gazing directly at the dynamism that, beautiful in the

²⁰⁰ *Paramārcanatrīṃśikā*, ff. 40v7–41r4 (31 and colophon): *anavacchinnacidvyomaparamāmṛtabrṃhītaḥ | nāgābhīdho vyadhāt etāṃ paramārcanatrīṃśikāṃ. iti śrīmahāmāheśvaranāga-vipaścidviracitā paramārcanatrīṃśikā samāptā* and *Cittasamtoṣatrīṃśikā*, f. 49r3–6 (v. 31 and colophon): *nirāvaranacidvyomaparamāmṛtanirbharah | nāgābhīdhānas tad idaṃ cittasamtoṣakam vyadhāt. iti śrīnāgavipaścidviracitā cittasamtoṣatrīṃśikā samāptā*.

²⁰¹ *Paramārcanatrīṃśikā*, ff. 35v5–36r1 (v. 7): *yatra sāhasasamādhīsaṃśrayaḥ prasphuradvimalabodhanirbharah | sphītasamvidudayaṃ na vindate sarvavṛttiṣu kim etad arcanam*. For the Krama concept of *sāhasam*, literally ‘violent assault, aggression’ see, e.g., *Chummā-samketaprakāśa*, f. 3r1–2 (vv. 28c–29b); *mahoddāma sāhasam padam acyutam | samāruhya haṭhād asmi suprabuddhadasānvitah*; *Vātūlanāthasūtra* 1: *mahāsāhasavṛtṭyā svarūpalābhah*; *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, opening verse: *saṃghaṭṭaghaṭṭanabaloditanirvikāraśūnyātiśūnyapadam avyayabodhasāram | sarvatra khecaradṛśā pravirājate yat tan naumi sāhasavaram guru-vaktragamyaṃ; ibid.*, concluding verse: *iti paramarahasyaṃ vāgvikalpaughamuktaṃ bhava-vibhavavibhāgabhrāntimuktena samyak | kṛtam anupamam uccaiḥ kenacicidvikāsād akalitaparasattāsāhasollāsavṛtṭyā*; *Mahānayaṃprakāśa* (Triv.) 2.28–29: *alamgrāsakramah so ’yaṃ mahāsāhasajanmabhūḥ*. See also *Mālinīvijayavārtika* 2.86: *mahāsāhasasamyogavilīnākhilavṛttikah puñjībhūtasvaraśmyoghanirbharibhūtamānasah*; → *Tantrāloka* 5.84: *mahāsāhasasamyogavilīnākhilavṛttikah | puñjībhūte svaraśmyoghe nirbharibhūya tiṣṭhati*.

²⁰² *Paramārcanatrīṃśikā*, ff. 35v3–5 (v. 6): *khecarīprabhṛtīpañcakātmanā vyāptim ambaragatāṃ nibhālayan | bṛdvikāsubhagāṃ bhavāpado yatra muñcati na kiṃ tad arcanam*.

unfolding of the heart [of awareness], pervades the sky [of consciousness] as the [cycle of its] five [flows] from Khecarī to [Vyomavāmeśvarī]?

This is the 'true worship' and 'delighting of the mind' that give the works their titles. In the second Nāga celebrates his own attainment of this enlightenment through the oral transmission (*kathanam*) from master to disciple that the Krama opposes to the worship of the phases as a higher means of liberation.²⁰³

By great good fortune I stand today flooded with the blissful relish of the nectar of the unlocated consciousness that surges up from [its] unfettered, spotless ground, astonished by the fruition of the instruction in the inexpressible practice that I obtained from the heart of my true teacher's oral teaching.

The Mahānayaprakāśa of Arṇasimha

Arṇasimha's *Mahānayaprakāśa*, though permeated by this spirit of direct insight, reviews the successive phases of the Krama worship that constitutes the base of practice, explaining how each reflects the core structure of consciousness, leading progressively from the contemplation of this in the body (*pīṭhacakram*) by means of the preliminary worship of the Pīṭha Uḍḍiyāna, its Karavīra cremation ground, its site-guardian (Kṣetrapāla) Balotkṛta, the Assembly of Yoginīs/Śakinīs therein (*melāpah*), and the Great Sacrifice [that it enacted] (*mahāyāgaḥ*), to the worship of (1) the circle of the five Flow Goddesses (*vāhadevyah*) Vyomavāmeśvarī, Khecarī, Bhūcarī, Saṃhārabhakṣiṇī, and Raudreśvarī (*pañcavāhacakram*), (2) the circle of Illumination (*prakāśacakram*) in which the faculties reach out towards the object, (3) the circle of Bliss (*ānandacakram*), in which the faculties incorporate the objects of the senses, (4) the circle of Embodiment (*mūrticakram*) in which that object-awareness reverts into the perceiver's awareness of himself as their perceiver, (5) the circle of the sixty-four Siddhās (*vr̥ndacakram*), in which that self-awareness reverts to its enlightened core, (6) the worship of the Guru lineage beginning from Maṅgalā as the leader of those sixty-four, and finally the extroversion of the enlightened state realized in the *vr̥ndacakram* and embodied in the lineage through the four circles of (7) Emission (*sr̥ṣṭicakram*), (8) Stasis (*sthiticakram*), (9) Withdrawal (*saṃhāracakram*), and (10) the Nameless (the *anākhyacakram* of the thirteen Kālīs), in which the perfect interpenetration (*sāmarasyam*) of the inner and outer states is fully realized.

²⁰³ *Cittasamtoṣatrimśikā*, f. 48v2–5 (v. 29): *svacchandanimlapadoditanirniketasamvitsudhārasacamatkṛtinirbharo 'smi | diṣṭyādya sadgurumukhāmbujamadhyalabdhānucāryacāra-kathanodayavismo 'smi*. On enlightenment in the Krama through oral transmission see p. 334.

The Cidgaganacandrikā of Śrīvatsa

From the same lineage comes the *Cidgaganacandrikā* of Śrīvatsa. In the form of a hymn to Kālī it covers the same ground as Arṇasimha's work but also goes beyond it in detail and incidental elaboration. For example, while Arṇasimha describes only the nature of the circle of the Nameless Śrīvatsa provides a treatment of each of its thirteen Kālīs, building on the verses dedicated to them in Eraka's *Kramastotra*.²⁰⁴ More than a third of its 312 verses are closely related to Arṇasimha's text, and these parallels are best understood as rephrasings of Arṇasimha's formulations in a more poetic, tighter style.²⁰⁵

Śrīvatsa tells us that the Krama lineage extends from Śivānanda to Soma comprising both the Order of the Human Masters (*mānavaughah* [Śivānanda, Keyūravatī, and Hrasvanātha]) and those from Cakrabhānu onwards, that is to say, the Order of the Disciples (*śiṣyaughah*),²⁰⁶ and that he himself had received the tradition from Soma's son.²⁰⁷ If this Soma is the Someśvara that Arṇasimha

²⁰⁴ *Cidgaganacandrikā* (CGC), vv. 224–250. Cf. Arṇasimha, *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa*, ff. 125v3–128r4 (vv. 212–236). The lost *Kramastotra*'s verses on the thirteen Kālīs are preserved through quotation in Jayaratha's *Tantrālokaṇḍikā* as follows, in the order of their worship (*pūjākramah*) as taught in all the Krama scriptures: (1) vol. 3, p. 158, ll. 13–16 (Sṛṣṭikālī) → CGC 221–224; (2) p. 163, ll. 5–8 (Sthitināśakālī) → CGC 225–226; (3) p. 167, ll. 1–4 (Saṃhārakālī) → CGC 227–228; (4) p. 160, l. 16–161, l. 2 (Raktakālī) → CGC 229–230; (5) not quoted but mentioned on p. 202, ll. 1–2 (emend *svakālīm* in Ed. to *sukālīm*) (Sukālī) → CGC 231; (6) p. 165, ll. 10–13 (Yamakālī) → CGC 232–233; (7) p. 169, ll. 9–12 (Mṛtyukālī) → CGC 234–235; (8) p. 173, ll. 16–19 (Bhadrakālī) → CGC 236–238; (9) p. 181, ll. 9–12 (Paramārkakālī) → CGC 239–240; (10) p. 178, ll. 10–13 (Mārtaṇḍakālī) → CGC 241–242; (11) p. 183, ll. 8–11 (Kālāgnirudrakālī) → CGC 243–246; (12) p. 185, ll. 4–7 (Mahākālakālī) → CGC 247–248; (13) p. 188, ll. 1–4 (Mahābhairavaghoracaṇḍakālī) → CGC 249.

²⁰⁵ I have noted the following correspondences: *Cidgaganacandrikā* (CGC) 75–80 ← Arṇasimha (A) 8–13; CGC 85–93 ← A 20, 22–29; CGC 100–177 ← A 30–31, 33–37, 40–58, 61–69, 75–82, 84–85, 87–89, 91–94, 96–98, 100–103, 105–112, 114–116, 118–120, 122–134, 137–139, 141–145, 147–151, 170–178, 180–209, 211–221, 226c–227, 233, 236–240, 243–245, 248; CGC 250 ← A 227; CGC 290–296 ← A 237–249.

²⁰⁶ The verse of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* that mentions the lineage of Krama Gurus is intractably corrupt in its edition, like much of the text, and I offer only a partial diagnosis of its errors (v. 300): *yaḥ śivāt prabhṛti somapaścimas tvatkramaikarasiko gurukramah* | **mānavaughah* (conj. : *ānanāgram* Ed.) *iha cakrabhānuto* **yas tad etad ubhayam tvad āyayau* [conj. : *yas tvam etad ubhayam tvayā yayā* Ed.] 'From you has come the line of Gurus devoted solely to your Krama, from Śiva [Śivānanda] to Soma, both the Mānavaughah and that from Cakrabhānu'. For the distinction between the Human Order and the Order of Disciples that has suggested the emendation to *mānavaughah* of *ānanāgram*, which yields no appropriate sense that I can discern, see p. 294, and footnote 221 on p. 303.

²⁰⁷ *Cidgaganacandrikā*, v. 304ab: *somaputram † apānesya † madgatas tvatkramo 'dya kim api*

has identified as one of his two Krama Gurus, then Śrīvatsa, as the pupil of his son, will have been approximately a generation later than Arṇasimha; but nothing compels this identification.²⁰⁸

In spite of the intimate connection with Arṇasimha's *Mahānayaprakāśa* it is doubtful that the text was composed in Kashmir. The only recorded manuscripts of the text are South Indian and all the citations of the text known to me occur in South Indian works or in late medieval authors familiar with those works.²⁰⁹ Moreover, Śrīvatsa declares his connection with Pūrṇapīṭha, in verses that convey in spite of their corrupt state that he came to that place to propitiate the Goddess and then composed his hymn.²¹⁰ This is one of the four principal Śākta Pīṭhas, better known as Pūrṇagiri, the other three being Uḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, and Kāmarūpa. Though its exact location does not appear from our sources, the *Kumārikhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairava* places it in the Bhairavāśrama on a mountain in Desh, that is to say, in the west-central

stuto mayā 'Today I have hymned in part your Krama that has come to me *from* (?) Soma's son'.

²⁰⁸ RASTOGI (1979, p. 196–197) assigns Śrīvatsa to A.D. 1125–1175 by proposing his identity with the poet Śrīvatsa mentioned as a contemporary by Mañkha in his *Śrīkanṭhacarita* (25.81–82). I see no reason to accept this. It rests on the flimsiest of arguments, namely the identity of the names and the fact that the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* has written in the Kāvya style.

²⁰⁹ Maheśvarānanda quotes vv. 5, 23, 108, 117, 121, 128, 148, 195, 197, and 223 in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* (pp. 27, 161, 98, 90, 91, 93, 96, 148, 119, and 126), Amṛtānandanātha vv. 9, 13, 32, 40, 72, and 212 in his *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā* (pp. 51, 173, 11, 94, and 18), Maheśvarānandanātha, v. 212 in his *Saubhāgyānandasandoha* (p. 161), and Kaivalyāśrama a verse not included in the edition in his commentary *Saubhāgyavardhanī* on the *Saundaryalaharī*, p. 5 (*amba tāvakapadadvayārcakas tvanmayo bhavati nātra vismayah | yas tvayaiṣa vivaśo vaśīkṛtaḥ śaktir eva samabhūc chivaḥ svayam*). Another verse not included in the edition has been quoted in the South Indian *Īśvarapratyabhijñāsūtravimarśinīvyākhyā*, p. 9, ll. 1–5 (*śrīcidgaganacandrikāyāṃ ca: ādimāntimagrhitavarṇarāśyātmikāham iti yā svataḥ prathā | mantravīryam iti sādhitāgamais tanmayo gurur asi tvam ambikā*). The text has also been cited by Bhāskaraṛāya in his commentary on the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, pp. 57 and 157.

²¹⁰ *Cidgaganacandrikā*, vv. 307c–308b: *pūrṇapīṭham *upagamyā* (conj. : *avagamyā* Ed.) *maṅgale *tvatprasādanakṛte* (conj. : *tvatprasādam akṛte* Ed.) *mayā kṛtaḥ | eṣa cidgaganacandrikā-stavaḥ *kiṃ na* (conj. : *kin nu* Ed.) *vāñchitam asūta māṃ prati* 'O Maṅgalā, what wish has the *Cidgaganacandrikā* not granted me, this hymn that I have composed to propitiate you after *coming to* (conj.) Pūrṇapīṭha?'; v. 312: **pūrṇapīṭhe kṛtavīdhis* (conj. : *pūrṇapīṭha kṛtaṃsiddhes* Ed.) **tvadbhāvastavam* (*tvad* conj. : *tad* Ed.) *ādarāt | *vāsanārtham* (conj. : *vānarārtham* Ed.) *mahāguhyam śrīvatsa vidadhe ṛsatuḥ* 'After having completed the rites [of propitiation] in Pūrṇapīṭha (conj.) Śrīvatsa has composed [this] most esoteric hymn to your nature in order to inculcate it [in himself]'.

Deccan Plateau, and the *Kubjikāmata* locates it more narrowly in the forests of the Sahya mountains (*sahyādriḥ*), that is to say, in the northern part of the Ghats that bound this region on the west.²¹¹

The Old Kashmiri Mahānayaprakāśa and its Sanskrit commentary

Another *Mahānayaprakāśa*, also called *Mahārthaprakāśa*, has come down to us from this lineage, comprising verses in Old Kashmiri by one Śitikaṇṭha.²¹² The work is accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary, which the editor asserts to be by the same author.²¹³ There is certainly no statement of separate authorship. But there are elements in the text itself that make it unlikely that this was an auto-commentary. In an introductory verse not included with those of the published text the commentator declares that in order to expound the ultimate nature of the Mahārtha he will make an effort (*udyamah*) to explain the vernac-

²¹¹ *Manthānabhairava, Kumārikhaṇḍa*, on the Pīṭha of Pūrṇagiri, f. 19r3: *kva ci(d) deśaṃ tathā ramaṃ deśānām uttamaṃ *viddhi* (conj. : *nidhiḥ* Cod.) | *diśādakṣiṇadigbhāge dakṣiṇā-pathamaṇḍalam*; f. 19v8: *bhairavās tatra pañcāśat pūrṇagiryāṃ samāgatāḥ | tena tad bhairavaṃ kṣetraṃ bhairaviśiddhidāyakaṃ*; f. 20r8: *evaṃ devyāḥ svarūpeṇa *pūrṇapīṭham* (corr. : *pūvva-pīṭham* Cod.) *udāhṛtaṃ | pūrṇāvā prakatā jñeyā*. Pūrṇagiri is equated with Sahya by an unnamed Paścimāmnāya source quoted without attribution by Maheśvarānanda on *Mahārthamañjarī* 39: *śṛṇoti śabdāṃ olambe prekṣate puṣkaradvaye | karālambe 'bhidhatte ca sahye jighrati gandhavat | mātāṅge tu mahāpīṭhe vyāpnoty akhilam īśvarī*. Olamba etc. in this verse correspond to Oḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, Pūrṇa, and Kāmarūpa, as can be inferred from the parallel in *Ṣaṣṭāhasasamhitā* 2.20, which associates the first four of same faculties with these Pīṭhas: *śrotukāmā tu oḍḍākhye vaktukāmā tu jālake | puṣṭyārthe caiva pūrṇākhye kāmākhye cekṣaṇecchayā*. Cf. *Kubjikāmata* 2.63–72 (≈ *Ṣaṣṭāhasasamhitā* 4/5.62–71), where the place is called ‘the great Sahya forest’ (63d: *gatā sahyāṃ mahāvanam*). This reports that the Goddess created the mountain there and that as its Pīṭheśvarī (72a) she is called Pūrṇā (70d: *pūrṇarūpiṇī*) because she filled it with nectar (69c, 70cd). In an earlier publication (SANDERSON 1987, p. 14b) I have written that Śrīvatsa was probably of Śucīndram (Pūrṇajyotiḥkṣetra, Pūrṇasabhā), an important Śaiva temple centre at the southern extremity of the subcontinent. I withdraw this theory.

²¹² Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 14.1ab: *pāveta iha kamu pabhusa pasāde śitikaṇṭhasa gata jammu kitāthu | tena mi mahajana khalitamasāde te mārāve mahanayaparamāthu* ‘Since he has mastered this Krama by the grace of the Lord the human birth of Śitikaṇṭha has fulfilled its purpose. Therefore I [have turned to the composing of this work and thus] enabled the pious too to attain *without error* (?) awareness of the true nature of the Mahānaya’.

²¹³ The editor, Mukunda Rām Śāstrī, prints the following words, evidently his own, before the text proper: *atha mahānayaprakāśaḥ śrīmanmahāmāheśvarācāryarājānakaśitikaṇṭhācārya-viracitaḥ proktācāryeṇaiva vivṛtaś ca* ‘Here begins the *Mahānayaprakāśa* composed by the venerable Mahāmāheśvarācārya Ācārya Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha and commented upon by the said Ācārya himself’.

ular words of this work.²¹⁴ It is unlikely that one about to explain his own words would refer to the undertaking in such terms. Moreover, there are instances in the commentary in which he offers multiple meanings of which some seem forced,²¹⁵ and one at least where the explanation is so awkward that I suspect that the author has either misunderstood the text or is offering a literal translation of a word that has reached him in an already corrupted form.²¹⁶ Finally, though he refers to the author of the verses throughout in the third person he once refers to himself in the first, if my emendation is correct.²¹⁷

As for the date of the work, Sir George Grierson, the distinguished scholar of the New Indo-Aryan languages, assigned the author of the verses, whose authorship of the commentary he does not question, to the latter half of the fifteenth century.²¹⁸ In doing so he was following the Kashmirian Śāstrī Paṇḍit Nityānanda, who had informed him that the Śitikaṇṭha who composed this *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* was the person of this name who during the reign of Ḥasan Ṣāh (r. 1472–1484) composed the commentary *-nyāsa* on the *Bālabodhinī*, a commentary by his countryman Jagaddhara on the Sanskrit grammar *Kā-tantra*. But Nityānanda Śāstrī's opinion was based on nothing more than the name Śitikaṇṭha, which is too common for this coincidence to prove identity. Moreover, the author of the *Bālabodhinīnyāsa* recounts his scholarly accomplishments in its introduction, yet makes no reference to expertise in esoteric Śaivism, let alone to his authorship of the *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, but only to his

²¹⁴ NAK MS of Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* between vv. 4 and 5: *mahārthaparamārthasya vyākhyāyai tatprakāśake | granthe 'pabhraṣṭaśabdānām kurve satkathanodyamam* 'With the purpose of expounding the ultimate nature of the Mahārtha I shall make an effort to give a true explanation of the vernacular words in [this] text that illuminates it'.

²¹⁵ Thus on Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* 1.3 he explains *nerāji śamavāñī* in three ways: coming to rest (*śamavāñī*) in (1) the pure (*nīrājike vimale*), (2) [her] own kingdom (*nije sām-rājyamahotsave* [i.e. *nije rājye*]), and (3) that in which the kingdom [of differentiated states] has disappeared (*nīrājye naṣṭarājye*). The second of these interpretations is altogether implausible and the third strained.

²¹⁶ In Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* 9.5 we are told that just as Śiva's head was the point of descent to earth for the Ganges so Maṅgalā was the point of descent *pīṭhadiśāna*. The commentary glosses this word as *pīṭhadiśām* 'for the directional quarters of the Pīṭha'. This reference to the directions makes no sense in the context. What we expect here is something like 'for the teachings of the Pīṭha'. Perhaps *pīṭhadiśāna* is to be understood as *pīṭhādiśāna* (Skt. *pīṭhādeśānām*) with a shortening of vowels seen elsewhere in these verses (see GRIERSON 1929, § 11) or *pīṭhopadiśāna* (Skt. *pīṭhopadeśānām*). Cf. Modern Kashmiri *wōpadīsh* 'instruction'.

²¹⁷ See footnote 239 on p. 307.

²¹⁸ See GRIERSON 1929, pp. 73–76. Grierson's dating and the single authorship of the verses and commentary are accepted without question by RASTOGI (1979, pp. 220–224).

mastery of the brahmanical disciplines of grammar and logic. Nor does the commentary on the *Mahānayaprakāśa* show any signs that it was written by a scholar who had specialized in these subjects to an advanced level. Furthermore, the grammarian tells us that he was a member of the distinguished family of the Rājānakas of Padmapura (modern Pāmpar/Pampur),²¹⁹ but we have no evidence that the author of the *Mahānayaprakāśa* was a Rājānaka of any patrilineage. Had he been a Rājānaka we would expect to see this title accompanying his name in the colophon, which identifies him simply as Śitikaṇṭhācārya.

With the collapse of this identification we are left with no means of dating the text other than to consider its contents and language. It contains no citations of other works but it does provide an approximate prior limit by giving the tradition's preceptorial line. As we have seen, it states that Maṅgalā was the source of the three Gurus of the Human Order (*mānavaughaḥ*), that they were followed by [Cakra]bhānu, and that he was the source of the eight Disciples.²²⁰ The commentary explains that the Human Order comprises [Jñāna]netra, Rājñī [Keyūravatī], and Hrasvanātha,²²¹ thus agreeing exactly with the account of the

²¹⁹ *Rājānakavaṃśaprasaṃsā*, ff. 9, ll. 22–13 (vv. 6–9), in which Śitikaṇṭha tells us that he visited various centres of learning outside Kashmir in order to master various Śāstras, was honoured by Sultān Muḥammad of Gujarat (r. 1458–1511), studied Nyāya in Gorakhpur from Śrīnātha and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* in Benares from Varadeśvara before returning to Kashmir, where he undertook to write this commentary at the private request of Zayn al-Ābidīn, finishing it in A.D. 1472, during the reign of Ḥasan Ṣāh: 6 *yodhācāryasuto 'rjuno jani jagatkhyāto gariṣṭhair guṇair yasmāc chrīṣitikaṇṭha ity abhidhayā jāto 'smi vidyānidheḥ | nānāśāstravinirṇayāya bahusās tīrthāntarāny abhramam pūjām gūrjaranāthamahmadasaduratrā-ṇād avāpam parām | 7 śrīgorakṣapure 'dhigatya vibudhāt tarkam param karkaśam śrīnāthād adbhikāśi śeṣaracitam mīmāṃsayā māmsalam | bhāṣyam śrīvaradeśvarāt svavasatiṃ prāpto 'rthito haṃ rahāḥ śrīmājñainanrpeṇa so 'tra karavai vyākhyāṃ satām khyātaye | 8 yo bālāboddhinyabhidhām manīṣi jagaddharo yām vitatāna vṛttim | tannaptṛkanyātānayanūjo vyākhyāmy aham tām śitikaṇṭhako 'lpam | 9 try[3]aṅka[9]viśva[13]mīte śāke [=Śaka 1393] varṣe muniyugaiḥ [74] mīte [=Saptarṣi (45)47] | nabhasyasitasaptamyām samāpto nāmanirṇayaḥ.*

²²⁰ Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 9.5: *harāṣīru jina gaṅgi avatāran tā jānu maṅgala pīṭhadiśāna | sā mānavaugha trīsthāna kulārana bhānupāda aṣṭana śīsyāna* 'Just as the head of Śiva was the point from which the Ganges descended to earth so Maṅgalā for the teachings of Uḍḍiyāna. She was the source of the three stages of the Human Order. [Then came] the venerable Bhānu [the source] of the eight Disciples'. The commentary identifies this Bhānu as Cakrabhānu in its comments on the next verse.

²²¹ Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, commentary on 9.5: *sā ca siddhaugharūpā *mānavaughe netrarājñīhrasvanāthetitrirūpasya kulasya ovalliśeṣasya* (conj. : *mānavaughanetrarājñī hrasvanāthetitrirūpasya kulāraniḥ kulasya ovalliśeṣasya* Ed.) *araṇiḥ trayāṇām agnīnām ivotpattisthānam* 'And [Maṅgalā], who constituted the Siddha Order, was the fire-churning stick for the triple

lineage in Arṇasimha's *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa*. If the eight that followed are understood as eight successive preceptorial generations then we will have an approximate prior limit in the twelfth century. But the next verse suggests that the author means eight co-disciples, because, playing on Cakrabhānu's name and employing a common simile for the dawning of enlightenment it refers to him as the sun (*bhānuḥ*) and to these disciples as lotuses opened by his light.²²² This brings the prior limit back to some time early in the eleventh century. This, of course, does not establish a posterior limit, because it does not follow from the fact that Śitikaṇṭha's account of the lineage ends with the eight disciples of Cakrabhānu that he was the direct pupil of one of them.

As for the language of the text we might suppose that Grierson, who describes it as old, "belonging to the period when Prakrit, in the Apabhraṃśa stage, had just merged into the language that finally became the Kāshmirī of the present day",²²³ would have rejected Nityānanda Śāstrī's identification of its author if he had thought the late fifteenth century implausible on linguistic grounds. Evidently he saw no difficulty in accepting that this stage of Kashmiri, far removed though it is from the modern language, should have been reached so late. He was aware that the Kashmiri verses of the Śaiva poetess Lal Dēd (Lalishōrī, Lallādevī, Lallāyoginī), though she lived in the fourteenth century (1335–1376), show a form of Kashmiri that with the exception of few archaic forms is virtually indistinguishable from the modern vernacular. But he swept aside the implication that Śitikaṇṭha's verses must therefore have been written much earlier by asserting that the language of Lal Dēd must have been modernized through its transmission in the oral culture of Kashmir. With this objection disposed of there was nothing to oppose his dating, since he was not aware of any evidence of the existence of Kashmiri in earlier centuries. But there is such evidence, and it shows that Kashmiri was already a distinct language in the early eleventh century.

The great Khwārizmian scientist and polymath al-Bīrūnī (973–1050+), who did not enter the valley himself, but evidently had Kashmirians among

lineage, the distinguished preceptorial line in the Human Order comprising [Jñāna]netra, Rājñī [Keyūravatī], and Hrasvanātha, just as the real] fire-churning sticks are the source of the three [Śrauta] sacrificial fires'.

²²²9.6: *aṣṭa mūci mahadyu yākheta va bammu pajapatīna nikhilāna | aruṇodaya diṇmaṇḍala tākheta bhānu vikāsaka śīśukamalāna* 'Bhānu [/the sun] caused the lotuses that were [these] disciples to unfold, just as Śiva (Mahādeva) does to his eight Mūrtis, or Brahmā to all the Prajāpatīs, [or] the rising sun to the quarters of the sky'.

²²³GRIERSON 1929, p. 73.

his informants, refers to a number of Indian festivals and related matters under vernacular names that are unmistakably Kashmiri. He tells us in his ‘Description of India’ (*Tarikh al-Hind*), written around A.D. 1030 after he had accompanied his patron Sultān Maḥmūd b. Subuktakīn from Ghazhna to India, that in the month of Āṣāḍha “there is a fast-day holy to Vāsudeva called *Devasīnī* (?) , *i.e.* Deva is sleeping, because it is the beginning of the four months during which Vāsudeva slept”.²²⁴ The name ascribed to this rite corresponds to Modern Kashmiri *div-wasun*, meaning ‘God’s going down [to sleep]’. He also tells us²²⁵ that the day in Kārtika that commemorates the god’s re-awakening is “called *Deotthīnī*, *i.e.* the rising of the Deva”, which corresponds to Modern Kashmiri *dīv-wōthun*. ‘God’s getting up’. The verb *wōthun* is the antonym of *wasun* and among its uses is ‘to get up (from one’s bed)’.²²⁶ Among other examples are *gan* ‘log’ in “certain pieces of wood called *gana* (?) which the water of the river Vitastā (Jailam) carries”; *pōh* ‘the month Pauṣa’ and *wor*^u ‘a kind of spiced cake’ in “*pūhaval*”, which he defines as a sweet dish eaten in that month; *wahāran* ‘the act of spreading out’ in “*vuḥara*” for the flow as opposed to the ebb of the ocean; *gōra-tray* in “*gaur-t-r*” for the third lunar day of the light half of the months Māgha and Vaiśākha sacred to Gaurī; and *har* ‘a group of young sprouts’ and *wōl*^f ‘a pregnant woman’ in “*harbālī*” for a women’s festival in Bhādrapāda in which seeds sown in baskets are offered when they have sprouted.²²⁷

Abhinavagupta (*fl.* c. 975–1025), stating the view that human language, as opposed to Mantras, is a matter of convention (*sāṃketika*-), gives examples of how the same combinations of sounds have entirely different meanings in different languages, and cites examples from Tamil, the language of the Saindhavas, and Kashmiri. His example for the last is *krūra* for husked grains of barley, wheat, or rice²²⁸ with which we may compare Modern Kashmiri *dōda-krūr*^{ai}

²²⁴SACHAU 1964, vol. 2, p. 176.

²²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 177.

²²⁶GRIERSON 1932, s.v., p. 1160b26–27.

²²⁷SACHAU 1964, vol. 2, pp. 181, 183, 104, 179, and 180; GRIERSON 1932, pp. 287b24, 305b17–25, 684a24 and 1137a5–6, 1105b9–13, and 343b1–3 and 1113a35–36.

²²⁸*Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa*, p. 227, ll. 16–18 (p. 125 in KSTS ed.): *yathā dākṣiṇātyāḥ cauraśabdena odanaṃ vyapadiśanti saindhavās tu tenaiva dasyum odanaṃ tu krūraśrutya tayā tu kāśmīrikā vituṣitayavagodhūmatandulān iti* ‘...just as southerners say *caura*- for cooked rice, but the natives of Sindh use the sound *caura* for a brigand and *krūra* for boiled rice, while the Kashmirians use *krūra* for husked grains of barley, wheat, or rice’.

f. ('milk-*krūr*²²⁹) 'a certain kind of rice-plant'.²²⁹ He also alludes to the Kashmirian vernacular when commenting on Ānandavardhana's advice that poets should avoid any juxtaposition of syllables that might arouse vulgar thoughts in the minds of listeners (*asabhyasmṛtihetuḥ*). He advises poets to write, for example, *kuru rucim* rather than *rucin kuru*.²³⁰ The unstated point of this example is surely that the juxtaposition of the syllables *cin ku* would bring to mind what must have been a word corresponding to the Modern Kashmiri *cēkh* f. 'a woman's pudenda (used only in obscene abuse)'.²³¹

Finally, Kṣemendra, whose dateable literary activity falls between A.D. 1037 (*Brhatkathāmañjarī*) and 1066 (*Daśāvatāracarita*), tells us that he has included words from the local language (*deśabhāṣā*) in his sketches of various unsavoury characters in the 8th chapter of his *Deśopadeśa*;²³² and several words are indeed present there that can only be Kashmiri or which make good sense only if so understood. The first that I see in this passage is *ghaṭa* in 8.12 in mockery of a Śākta brahmin: *ghaṭagalagalagalaśabdair galapūram bhairavaṃ piban bhattāḥ*. The phrase makes no sense if the word is Sanskrit ('pot'), but excellent sense when recognized as Modern Kashmiri *g^aṭh* 'choking caused by too eagerly drinking':²³³ 'the brahmin drinking Bhairava (i.e. wine), filling his throat, with the sound *gala gala gala* of choking caused by drinking too eagerly'. The differences between *ghaṭa* and *g^aṭh* are inconsequential, since Kashmiri does not distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated voiced consonants and aspirates the unvoiced consonants *k*, *p*, *t*, *ṭ*, and *c* when these end a word. Then there are *melākalama-* (8.40), in a passage on an ignorant scholar, which is meaningless in Sanskrit but apposite Kashmiri, since in that language *mīl* f. means 'ink', and *mīl-kalam* 'an ink-pen';²³⁴ *navadarakārī* (8.45) describing a crooked accountant, which yields no apposite sense in Sanskrit but if *dara* is read as Kashmiri

²²⁹GRIERSON 1932, p. 189b11–14. The *caura* of the 'southerners' corresponds to Tamil and Malayalam *cōru* 'boiled rice' (BURROW and EMENEAU 1984, s.v.). Cf. Indrabhūti, *Jñānasiddhi* 15.2: *coraśabdo [yathā] loke *bhaktārtham* (conj. : *bhaksyārtham* Ed.) *pratipādayet | keṣāṃcic coram *evāha* (conj. : *āhuḥ* Ed.) *tantra 'py evaṃ padās tathā*.

²³⁰In his *Dhvanyālokalocana* on 2.11: *yathā kuru rucim iti kramavyatyāse*.

²³¹GRIERSON 1932, p. 1068a40–41

²³²*Deśopadeśa* 8.1: *ekatra samkṣiptadhiyā prakīrṇajanavarṇanam | deśabhāṣāpadair miśram adhunā kriyate mayā* 'With the intention of concision I shall now give in a single [chapter] a description of miscellaneous persons that will include [some] words from the local language'.

²³³GRIERSON 1932, p. 311a9–11.

²³⁴GRIERSON 1932, pp. 564b48–50 and 565b39–41.

derides him for setting new tariffs or fixing the scales to his advantage;²³⁵ and *vāli* ‘finger-ring’, Modern Kashmiri *wōj* f.,²³⁶ in *kuśatilarājatavālikalitakarā*.²³⁷

I see no reason, therefore, to think that the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, though not by the fifteenth-century grammarian, must have been composed so late. A date early in the history of the Kashmirian Śaiva literature, close to the limit of the early eleventh century set by the text’s account of the Guru lineage, is entirely possible. Indeed it is plausible in the light of the considerable distance between this Old Kashmiri and the modern language, which, even if we accept Grierson’s view that Lal Dēd’s Kashmiri has been modernized—and I see no strong reason to do so—is certainly present in the verses of the poetess Ḥabba Khātūn in the sixteenth century.²³⁸

As for the author of the commentary, he reports, as we have seen, that the line of succession (*pārampariyam*) that had reached him began from Rājñī Īśānī, indicating thereby that there were several intermediate preceptorial generations.²³⁹ The sources that he cites include a lost hymn (*Stotramālā*) composed by himself,²⁴⁰ verses from an unnamed Krama scripture or scriptures

²³⁵Modern Kashmiri *dar* m. ‘price, rate, tariff, market or current rate; a large, fixed pair of scales for weighing heavy loads’ (GRIERSON 1932, p. 234b10–14), and *dar-karun* ‘to calculate the weight of anything by weighing an aliquot part thereof by measure and multiplying by the number of parts’ (GRIERSON 1932, p. 234b18–21).

²³⁶GRIERSON 1932, p. 1107a30–31. This change of *l* to *j* is regular in Kashmiri; cf. *kāwoj* ‘cremation-ground attendant’ from *kāpālikah* in that sense (see, e.g., *Rājatarāṅginī* 7.44ab); *mōl* ‘father’, but *mōj* ‘mother’ from *mahallakah/mahallikā* ‘venerable one’; *kij* f. ‘peg, spike’ from *kilikā*; *muj* f. ‘a radish’ from *mūlikā*; *shōj* f. ‘she-jackal’ from *śṛgālikā*; and *zōj* f. ‘a fine, delicate net’ from *jālikā*.

²³⁷I have emended. The published text gives *kuśatilarājatavāliḥ kalitakarā*.

²³⁸Further clarification of these matters would be possible by studying the Kashmiri of the *Bāṇasuravadha*, composed by Bhaṭṭāvatāra during the fifteenth century (BÜHLER 1877, p. 90), c. 1446. The only known manuscript, dated 1020 Hijrī (A.D. 1658), was acquired in Kashmir by Georg BÜHLER and is now in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune. I regret that I have not yet seen it. This work, I imagine, would not be open to the argument of modernization that was applied by Grierson to the poetry of Lal Dēd and might also be extended to that of Ḥabba Khātūn, since her verses too became part of Kashmiri oral tradition.

²³⁹Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, commentary on 9.5: *bhānupādaḥ aṣṭānām śiṣyāṇām prabhuḥ yanmadhyād *rājñīśānākhyā* (conj. : *rājñīśānākhyā* Ed.) *madantapāramparyanidānam* (corr. : *sadantaṁ pāramparyanidānam* Ed.) ‘The venerable [Cakra]bhānu was the Lord of the Eight Disciples, one of whom, the Rājñī Īśānī, is the source of the line of succession that ends in myself’.

²⁴⁰Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, pp. 47, l. 16–48, l. 2 (*yat stutaṁ stotramālāyām mayaiva*).

not otherwise known,²⁴¹ an unattributed verse found in the *Ūrmikaulārṇava* (a scripture of a related form of the Kālikula),²⁴² and passages from otherwise unknown works of the post-scriptural Krama, of which the *Rājikā* and *Pūjātīlaka* are named.²⁴³ The only authors of approximately known date that he cites are Jñānanetra and Utpaladeva²⁴⁴ but this takes us no further in establishing his period, since Utpaladeva, the later of these, flourished around the middle of the tenth century. He cites a verse that is attributed to Śrīvatsa,²⁴⁵ but nothing requires us identify that Śrīvatsa with the author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā*.

The text and its commentary stand apart in the Kashmirian Krama literature in a number of respects. This, for example, is the only source therein whose account of the course of worship does not culminate in the fourth phase, that of the Nameless (*anākhyakramah*), but adds a fifth, the phase of Pure Light (*bhāsākramah*),²⁴⁶ following in this respect the model of worship taught in the

²⁴¹Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, p. 6, l. 7; p. 7, ll. 9–10; p. 16, ll. 4–5; p. 29, 12–13; p. 39, ll. 1–2 and 7–12; p. 42, 15–16; p. 43, ll. 1–2; p. 45, ll. 3–4, 6–7, 9–10, 12–13, 15–16; p. 111, ll. 11–12.

²⁴²Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, p. 10, ll. 4–5, = *Ūrmikaulārṇava*, f. 5r4–5 (1.90c–91b). This scripture, also called *Bhogahasta*, teaches a form of the Kālikula related to that of the Krama texts (f. 10v7 [2.6]: *śāktam kālīkramāmnāyam bhogahasteti viśrutam*) and claims to have been revealed first by Mīnanātha in Kāmarūpa and then taken by Siddhas to Kaulagiri (Kolhapur) in Karnataka; see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 133–134 and footnote 111.

²⁴³Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, p. 20, ll. 11–14; p. 21, ll. 2–4, 5–9, and 16–17; p. 24, ll. 6–9; p. 32, ll. 10–13 (in Old Kashmiri, attributed to an unnamed Siddha [*yad siddhapādā ādidiśuḥ*]); p. 43, ll. 5–8; p. 55, ll. 5–8 (attributed to the *Rājikā*); p. 58, ll. 8–15; pp. 62, l. 15–63, l. 4; p. 79, ll. 3–4. On p. 141 he refers to a variant order of Krama worship taught in the *Pūjātīlaka*.

²⁴⁴Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, p. 6, ll. 14–15, = *Kālīkāstotra*, f. 91r1–2 (v. 6); p. 12, ll. 5–6, = Utpaladeva, *Śivastotrāvalī* 16.1; p. 12, ll. 16–17 (not traced).

²⁴⁵The verse is cited (p. 12, ll. 8–11) as that of ‘a certain learned scholar’ (*kaścic ca vipāścid āha*). The attribution to Śrīvatsa accompanies a citation of the same verse in a marginal comment in a Kashmirian manuscript of the *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa* (*śrīvatsa py āha*); see WATSON 2006, p. 246.

²⁴⁶Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* 11.2–5 and commentary. The content of this phase is unclear. The commentary explains that it contains four sub-phases, calling them the differentiated (*sakalah*), the differentiated-cum-undifferentiated (*sakalanīṣkalah*), the undifferentiated (*niṣkalah*), and the all-containing (*parah*) (p. 123, ll. 3–5: *catvāro hy asmin bhāsākrame *sakalasakalanīṣkalaniṣkalaparākhyāḥ* [em. : *sakalāsakalanīṣkalāniṣkalaparākhyāḥ* Ed.] **kramā* [em. : *krama* Ed.] *mahākramam avabhāsayanti*); that there are twelve constituent goddesses (*cakrīṇyaḥ*) in the first, six in the second, three in the third, and one in the fourth; that all the twelve and four of the six have Mantras of eighteen syllables; that the remaining two of those six and all of the three have Mantras of fourteen syllables; and that

Kālikulakramasadbhāva rather than the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*. However, it follows the latter in the preceding phases, giving thirteen Kālīs in the fourth rather than the former's seventeen. This illustrates in striking fashion a characteristic of the post-scriptural Krama as a whole, namely its readiness to innovate, a feature that was no doubt justified in terms of its distinctive narrative of ongoing revelation through direct contact with the Yoginīs of Uḍḍiyāna conceptualized in these texts as the sudden unfolding in the meditator's visionary consciousness of his own inner reality. The text is also remarkable for the richness of its reading of the structures of worship not only in terms of the natural flow of cognition but also in mapping them on to a model of the flow of energy within the body itself. Further, it gives detailed instructions found in no other text on a four-day course of training in the worship of the Krama following initiatory transmission (*saṃkramaṇam*), in which the initiate worships day by day the deities of the four phases from Emission (*śṛṣṭīkramah*) to the Nameless (*anākhyakramah*), each accompanied with the worship of the Pīṭha-circle, a segment of the Guru lineage, the phase of Pure Light (*bhāsākramah*), and the Samayavidyā of one hundred syllables that rectifies any defects in the preceding worship, followed by instruction in a five-day session in which the initiate together with his female consort (*dūtī*) worships the five deity phases one by one with dough lamps (*dīpacaruḥ*, *prakāśacaruḥ*), each with the Pīṭha-cycle, a segment of the Guru lineage, and the Samayavidyā.²⁴⁷

the goddess of the fourth and highest sub-phase has one of nine syllables, which it calls the Kulavidyā (*ekaiva kulavidyā navārṇaiva*). The relevant section of the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva* having been lost, we turn to the *Kālikulakramārcana* for clarification but find that its arrangement of deities differs. There (ff. 14v6–15r2: *bhāsākramapūjāvidhiḥ*) one is to worship twelve goddesses (Mantrakālī, Haṃsakālī, Kramakālī, Jñānakālī, Dāmarakālī, Cakrakālī, Oṃkārakālī, Gaganakālī, Ekabhāsākālī, Śabdakālī, Balakālī, and Ṛddhikālī), then eight (Bhāsākālī, Bhāsāhaṃsakālī, Bhāsācaṇḍakālī, Bhāsādāmarakālī, Bhāsāyogakālī, Bhāsāgaganakālī, Bhāsāsvarakālī, and Bhāsā-ṛkṣakālī), then seven (Sūryakālī, Candrakālī, Agnikālī, Vāyukālī, Vyomakālī, Manaḥkālī, and Sarvakālī), then the nine-syllable Vidyā in its seventeenth-syllable form through the separation of its conjuncts (MA-E-KHA-PHA-RA-MA-HĀ-CA-ṆA-ḌA-YA-O GA-E-ŚA-VA-RĪ), the 100-syllable Samayavidyā (see footnote 247 on p. 309), and finally the unseparated nine-syllable Vidyā (KHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGESVARI). Only the number of the first phase and the nine-syllable Vidyā at the end coincide. Nor do the Mantras in the *Kālikulakramārcana*, with the exception of the nine-syllable Vidyā, show the requisite number of syllables. Maheśvarānanda's comments on the phase of Radiance in the *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla* (pp. 101–104) are too abstract to clarify these details beyond the use of the seventeen-syllable Vidyā (*ṣoḍaśādhikā*: perhaps the separated form of the nine-syllable is intended) and the nine-syllable Vidyā.

²⁴⁷Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakā* 13.1–5. On the Samayeśvarī/Samayavidyā/Samayā of one

The Anonymous Mahānayaprakāśa

A third *Mahānayaprakāśa*, of unknown authorship, has been published from Trivandrum on the basis a single Keralan manuscript.²⁴⁸ It too is probably Kashmirian, since it has been cited by Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka* and by Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya I in his commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava*,²⁴⁹ and drawn upon by Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya II in his *Śivarātrirahasya*.²⁵⁰ The editor reports with approval hearsay evidence that the author was Abhinavagupta.²⁵¹ But though the work shows a style and sophistication not unworthy of him, the claim that it is his is fatally undermined by the fact that Jayaratha cites it as representing the view of unnamed others, namely that there are thirteen Kālīs in the phase of the Nameless and not twelve as

hundred syllables see 11.6–9. The author does not give the Vidyā itself, but states that it has 100 syllables divided into sections of 2, 15, 69, 2, and 12, for four sub-phases within the phase of the Nameless (Sṛṣṭyanākhyasamayeśvarī to Śuddhānākhyasamayeśvarī) followed by the phase of Pure Light (Bhāsāsamayeśvarī). This is evidently the Samayavidyā taught in partly encoded form in *Kālikulapañcaśataka* 6.19–30. For that has 100 syllables and consists of segments of the length indicated by our author. These are not conveyed explicitly, but they are nonetheless made apparent by four occurrences at the appropriate places of the syllable PHAṬ, which generally occurs at the end of a Mantra, with PHAṬ SVĀHĀ at the end of the whole. Decoded, with the addition of Daṇḍas to mark the segments, it is: KHPHREṀ PHAṬ | MAHĀCANḌE CANḌAMUKHI CANḌAYOGĒŚVARĪ PHAṬ | CANḌADUḤKHAVIMOCANI SARVASAMAYALOPAVIGHĀTANI TEJOVATĪ AMṚTAMŪRTE ASIDDHASĀDHANI SIDDHI-ṚDDHIPRADE NĀŚAYA SARVADOṢĀN ABHIMATAṀ ME PRAYACCHA SARVE SARVAGE ARŪPE SARVARŪPE HRĪṀ PHAṬ | KHPHREṀ PHAṬ | HŪṀ KROM KṢĀṀ SARVAVIDYĒŚVARĪ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ. The function of the Samayavidyā is to promote the fruition of the worship that precedes it by removing any impediments to that fruition caused by defects in performance; see SANDERSON in the discussion after GOUDRIAAN 1986, pp. 161–163. The segments of the lineage of Gurus are six: (1) the *paraughah* (= the five Vāhadevīs), (2) the *divyaughah* (= the Siddhas and Yoginīs of the *prakāśacakram*, *ānandacakram*, and *mūrticakram*), (3) the *mahaughah* (= the sixty-four Pīṭheśvarīs/Śākinīs/Siddhās of the *vrndacakram*), (4) the *siddhaughah* (= Maṅgalā), (5) the *mānavauughah* (= Jñānanetra, Keyūravatī, and Hrasvanātha), and (6) the *śisyaughah* (= Cakrabhānu and his eight disciples). In the four-day course 4–6 are combined and in the five-day course 5 and 6.

²⁴⁸The editor, K. Śāmbaśiva Śāstrī, reports that the manuscript, on palm-leaf in the Malayalam script, belonged to Brahmaśrī Nārāyaṇan Bhaṭṭatiripād of Parambūrillam, Thiruvalla, and judges that it is about four hundred years old (*Mahānayaprakāśa* [Triv.], introduction, p. 3).

²⁴⁹*Tantrāloka*viveka on 4.125, vol. 3, p. 128, ll. 12–18 (= *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.15–18b); *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 67, ll. 10–13 (= 7.127–128), and ll. 18–19 (= 7.144).

²⁵⁰See footnote 319 on p. 331.

²⁵¹*Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.), introduction, p. 2.

Abhinavagupta has taught in the passage on which Jayaratha is commenting.²⁵²

This text is distinguished from the other two works with the same title by the depth and subtlety of its explanations of the course of Krama worship as embodying a process of the unfolding of sudden enlightenment in which consciousness devours its own content and subjectivity (*alamgrāsaḥ*, *hathapākaḥ*) to burst forth into the mind and senses as a transfigured mundane experience in which the polarity of liberation and bondage is obliterated. It also stands apart by reason of its containing a sophisticated and learned philosophical argument for the position that the object of cognition has no existence outside the cognition itself, as the basis for the soteriologically correct perception of the cyclical flow of consciousness personified in the goddesses of the Five Flows (*vāhadevyah*) from the inner ground of pure potential before the arising of object-cognition (Vyomavāmeśvarī) to the return to that ground (Raudraraudreśvarī) at its end;²⁵³ and for an eloquent reconciliation of the Krama's Śākta perspective on itself as the ultimate revelation within its Śaiva context, namely that the Goddess of the Krama is that point at the core of Śiva's nature that he himself cannot objectivate.²⁵⁴

(104–5b) Maheśvara's repose within himself is the highest state of self-awareness. But by the finest of distinctions there shines a state even higher than that. This is the Goddess-ground, in which even the Lord cannot see his way. (105c–106) Being and non-being are grounded in the light of all manifestation, and that is grounded in the ecstasy of consciousness void of all dependence,

²⁵² *Tantrāloka* on 4.125, vol. 3, p. 128, ll. 10–11, introducing the unattributed citation of *Mahānaya*prakāśa (Triv.) 9.15–18b: *nanv asyā parasyāḥ saṃvido 'nyair anayaiva bhaṅgyā trayodaśātmakatvam uktam. yad uktam: ...* 'It may be objected that others following exactly the same approach have asserted that fully expanded consciousness has thirteen aspects. As has been said:'

²⁵³ *Mahānaya*prakāśa (Triv.) 3.1–93.

²⁵⁴ *Mahānaya*prakāśa (Triv.) 3. 94–111. 3.104–111: *maheśasyātmaviśrāntiḥ parāhamtātmikā hi yā | tasyā api parāvasthā bhāti sūkṣmaprabhedataḥ | 105 tad devīdhāma yatrāsau kām-diśiko vibhur bhavet | bhāvābhāvau prakāśe 'ntaḥ pratiṣṭhām adhigacchataḥ | 106 sa cāpi sakalāpekṣāśūnyāyāṃ ciccamatkṛtau | tāratamyādikalanāvāsanāvedhadūrage | 107 paraviśrāntiparyante sāpi viśrāmyati svataḥ | paraprakāśaviśrāntidaśāyām api ye sthitāḥ | 108 vāsanāvedhasaṃskārā bhāvābhāvobhayātmakāḥ | *antas tām grasanīkṛtya (conj. : atas tām asanīkṛtya Ed.) yā viśrāntir anuttarā | 109 sā devī kathyate tasyā nayo 'sau devatānayaḥ | *yatrāvaṭe (em. : yatrāpaṭe) *parikṣiṇo (Ed. : parikṣiṇā Cod.) *viṭaṅko (em. [cf. here 1.1d and 3.82a (avaṭāṭaṅka-), and commentary introducing *Bhāvopahāra*stotra v 1: *niruttaranirniketanāvaṭaviṭaṅka-*] : 'pi ṭaṅko Ed.) 'sau nayas tataḥ | 110 yā kālagraśaviśrāntis tad rūpaṃ parameśituh | yā tadviśrāntiviśrāntis tad devirūpaṃ isyate | 111 itthaṃ *sūkṣmekṣikārūpo (em. : sūkṣmekṣitārūpo Ed. : sūkṣmikṣitārūpo Cod.) bhedo *yaṃ (em. : yat Ed.) parameśayoh | aikye 'pi darśitaḥ samyak-pratitipariśuddhaye.*

which in turn comes to rest spontaneously in the limit of the self-groundedness of that all-encompassing [light], where the impressions of the influences left in consciousness by awareness of degree and the like are completely absent. (107–109) What we mean by ‘the Goddess’ is that untranscendable ground that remains when it has devoured even the subtlest traces of the impressions of these influences, positive, negative and both, that persist even within the state of the self-groundedness of that all-encompassing light. This path of [meditating on the cycles of] the deities [of cognition] is precisely the path of the Goddess [so defined]. It derives from that abyss in which all imprints are obliterated. (110) The nature of the Supreme Lord [Śiva] is the self-groundedness that devours awareness [of degree and the like]. We define the nature of the Goddess to be the point in which that itself comes to rest. (111) Thus though the Supreme Lords, male and female, are [objectively] one and the same, a subtle experiential difference between them has been revealed in order to perfect the correct perception [of this fact].

With the practical details of worship it is little concerned, but it conveys that initiation is to take the form of the tasting of the Kaula sacramental substances (*caruprāśanam*) at the commencement of the process of oral instruction and worship.²⁵⁵ It also teaches that the phase of the Nameless (*anākhyakramah*), in which its course of worship culminates, is to be realized in the experience of a female consort, wine, and meat.²⁵⁶

The work mentions Hrasvanātha, and quotes from the *Kramastotra* of Eraka, the *Svabodhodayamañjarī* of Vāmanadatta, and the *Īśvarapratyabhi-jñākārikā* of Utpaladeva.²⁵⁷ It was therefore composed no earlier than about

²⁵⁵ *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa* (Triv.) 2.4–5: *prādhānyena sthito loke vyavahārah kriyātmakah | atah pīthakramajñaptis tanmukhenaiva kathyate | anenaivāśayenātau caruprāśana*pūrvakam* (corr. : *pūrvakah* Ed.) | *guruṇā sampradāyasya bhājanam kriyate paśuḥ* ‘For the most part our mundane experience is active by nature. It is therefore through this that instruction is given in the [five-aspected] process of the Pīṭha phase of worship. And it is with this in mind that the Guru transforms the bound soul into a receptacle of the transmission by having him consume the sacramental substances’.

²⁵⁶ *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa* (Triv.) 9.35–51b.

²⁵⁷ Hrasvanātha is mentioned under the name Vāmanavīra in 8.27, quoted in footnote 140 on p. 278. The *Kramastotra* of Eraka is quoted in 6.27 as the *Samvitstotra* of the Hymnographer: *stotrakārasyedam eva sthitam cetasi yaj jagau | *samvitstotre* (corr. : *samvitstotraiḥ* Ed.) **samālokaṁ* (em. : *samāloka* Ed.) *pramāṇārthapramāṭṛ*gam* (em. : *daḥ* Cod. : *taḥ* em. Ed.) ‘This is what was in the mind of the Hymnographer when he sang of the single light in the means, object, and agent of cognition’. This refers to a line attributed to the *Kramastotra* by Śivopādhyāya in *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 140: *tato ’svaro ’rkaśomāg-nikalābījaprasūtibhāk | udety ekah samālokaḥ pramāṇārthapramāṭṛgaḥ iti. arthaḥ prameyam.*

950. However, I propose that though it does not cite Abhinavagupta directly it was influenced by doctrines set out by him in his *Tantrāloka* and therefore that it is unlikely to have been written before the first half of the eleventh century.

This influence is apparent in the text's explanation of the hierarchy of the Krama's means of liberation, and its account of the Kālīs that are to be worshipped in the last phase, that of the Nameless. As for the first, it teaches that liberation-in-life (*jīvanmuktiḥ*), the Krama's goal, comes through an extreme descent of Śiva's power (*atitīvraḥ śaktipātaḥ*, *atīśaktipātaḥ*) that brings about complete immersion in the reality of consciousness. This descent it subdivides into three degrees, mild (*mṛduḥ*), moderate (*madhyaḥ*), and intense (*atimātraḥ*), also calling them respectively *mahātīvraḥ*, *mahātīvratarah*, and *mahātīvratamah*.²⁵⁸

When *sāmbhava*- immersion has been established through the most intense (*atitīvra*-) descent of power then liberation in life has been attained and as a result everything is experienced as identical with the nectar of the bliss of the self. When this extreme descent of power gets under way we find that there appears within it a subtle experiential differentiation into [three degrees:] intense, middling, and mild.

These qualify their recipients for the Krama's three ascending methods of liberation: (1) through the worship of the Krama (*pūjanam*), (2) through oral instruction (*kathanam*), and (3) without the help of either of these, through direct transmission (*saṃkramaṇam*).²⁵⁹ The last it characterizes as a sudden unfolding of enlightenment brought about by a non-verbal fusion with the Guru's awareness, which needs no additional practice to establish and maintain it.²⁶⁰

iti śrīkramastotrāsaṃvādāt I have emended the reading *pramāṭṛtaḥ* following this citation and Abhinavagupta's unattributed quotation of the same in *Parātrīśikāvivarana*, p. 204, l. 25, who also cites it as the words of "the venerable Siddha" in *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivismāṣinī*, vol. 3, pp. 71–72 (*yathoktaṃ siddhapādaiḥ*). The expression *stotrakāraḥ* ('Hymnographer') for Eraka is also seen in the **Kramavamśāvalī* quoted in *Tantrāloka*, vol. 3, p. 191, ll. 3–6. Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñānakārikā* (1.5.11cd) is quoted in 3.64 without attribution: *ane-naivāśayenokto yuktītattvavicakṣaṇaiḥ *prakāśo 'rthoparakto* (corr. : *prakāśārthoparakto* Ed.) *'pi sphaṭikādi*jadopamaḥ* (corr. : *jālomapam* Ed.). The first verse of Vāmanadatta's *Svabodhodaya-mañjarī* is quoted as the oral teaching of the Siddhas (*iti siddhamukhāmnāyayuktyā*) in 9.52c–53b.

²⁵⁸ *Mahānaya*prakāśa (Triv.) 1.7–8: *atitīvraśaktipātād ārūḍhe sāmbhava samāveśe | svānandā-mṛtarūpaṃ jīvanmukteḥ *prakalpyate* (conj. : *jīvanmukteḥ prakalpate* Ed.) *viśvam | atimātra-madhyamṛdutābhedanāpi pravartamānasya | sūkṣmekṣikāprakāro 'pi vilasati tasyātīśaktipātasya*.

²⁵⁹ *Mahānaya*prakāśa (Triv.) 1.3–29a.

²⁶⁰ *Mahānaya*prakāśa (Triv.) 1.9–20, 24. 1.11: *so 'yaṃ *purāṇādhiṣṭhānakramaḥ* (conj. : *pu-rāṇādhiṣṭhānaḥ kramaḥ* Ed.) *kramavivarjitaḥ | mahārthasya parā niṣṭhā galitasvaparasthitiḥ*.

This is the non-sequential process of the Ground of the Primordial (*purāṇā-dhiṣṭhānakramah*).²⁶¹ It is the highest limit of the Mahārtha, in which the distinction of self and other has dissolved.

and:²⁶²

This is the process of [immersion] without means, being free of perturbation [even] by the latent impressions of the distractions that are reasoning, observation, and the rest. One in whom it is established is the king among Yogins. He is free of all obscurations, beyond the level of transcending or seeking to attain. He needs nothing else to establish [this, since it is] his own true nature.

The Guru's glance is sufficient to bring about an unimpeded, spontaneous understanding of the flow of the enlightened ground of consciousness in all the aspects of its operation expressed in the circles of powers that make up the course of worship.²⁶³

Through the violent impact of the Guru's glance he achieves unimpeded awareness in all the phases, from that of the Pīṭha to [that of the Nameless].

In the method of oral instruction the same spontaneous understanding unfolds with the help of the Guru's transmission of the Krama's aphorisms:²⁶⁴

In the most extreme [descent of power] (*mahātīvrata*), that rests in self-experience [alone], unimpeded awareness dawns for one without descending to the processes of instruction or [worship]. And when the more extreme (*mahātīvrata*) gets under way [that awareness] dawns as a result of the Guru's teaching, from nothing but his oral explanation of the aphorisms, of which the first is "[No sooner] seen [than] lost".

²⁶¹ Cf. the term *gdod ma'i gzhi* or *gdod ma gzhi* 'Primordial Ground, Ground of the Primordial' that denotes the central concept of the Great Perfection (rDzogs chen) tradition of the rNying ma pa Buddhism of Tibet as developed by the tenth century; see KARMAY 1988, p. 119.

²⁶² *Mahānayaṇaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.13–14: *yuktīcaryādivikṣepavāsanākṣobhavarjitaḥ | anupāyākramah so 'yaṃ yasya *rūḍhaḥ sa* (em. Ed. : *rūḍhasya* Cod.) *yogirāt | sarvāvaraṇanirmukto hānādānapadojjhitaḥ | sthitaye svasvarūpasya nānyat kiṃcid apekṣate*.

²⁶³ *Mahānayaṇaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.16bcd: *gurudṛṣṭīkṛpātasāhasāt | pīṭhakramādau sarvatra viśuddhis tasya jāyate*.

²⁶⁴ *Mahānayaṇaprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.20–21: *mahātīvrata + + + svānubhavasthite | kathanādikramātītā viśuddhis *tasya* (conj. : *tatra* Ed.) *kāśate | mahātīvra*tare* (em. : *tame* Ed.) *cāsmiṃ pravṛtte guruśāsanāt | *dṛṣṭānaṣṭādisaṃketakathāmātrāt* (em. : *dṛṣṭādrṣṭādisaṃketamātrā* Ed.) *prakāśate*. For the topic of enlightenment through oral transmission see pp. 334 *et seq.*

and in the method of worship the nature of consciousness dawns through meditative propitiation of the goddessess embodied in the cyclical flow of cognition:²⁶⁵

In the [merely] extreme (*mahātīvre*) the nature of the self dawns through the method of worshipping the goddesses of cognition that shine forth in every state of mundane experience, flowing outwards and inwards with each successive object of awareness, their contraction dissolved as they merge with the great void.

The first access to enlightenment is said to be completely devoid of conceptual awareness (*vikalpaḥ*), while the other two are defined against it as methods in which one relies to a greater or lesser extent on this awareness. In the case of oral instruction the conceptual element, though present, is subordinate to non-conceptual intuition, whereas in the process of worship it dominates and one must gradually transcend it through the intensification of the insight it embodies until finally direct, non-conceptual realization ensues:²⁶⁶

For some, in whom awareness of their identity has taken root without even the slightest trace of conceptual thought, knowledge dawns without dependence on any means of bringing it about. For others knowledge dawns in which the non-conceptual is dominant, as the result of an ever fainter conceptual awareness based on the [Guru's] instruction in the aphorisms and the like. And for some non-conceptual knowledge relies on the processes of worship and the rest, coming about only through and after conceptual awareness.

This exposition is influenced, I propose, by the theory of the four means of liberation set out in descending order of excellence by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*, namely the *śāmbhavaḥ*, *śāktaḥ*, and *āṇavaḥ* modes of immersion in Śiva (*samāveśaḥ*) with 'immersion without [the repeated practice of any] method' (*anupāyaḥ samāveśaḥ*) added at the summit of the first.²⁶⁷ Our text

²⁶⁵ *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* (Triv.) 1.22–23: *prakāśante* (em. Ed. : *prakāśate* Cod.) *mahātīvre vyavahāra*daśāsu yāḥ* (em. : *darāsu yāḥ* Ed.) | *pratyekaviṣayāvṛtṭyā bahirantarmukhodayāḥ* | *saṃvid-devyo mahāvryoma*saṃghaṭṭatrotitārgalāḥ* (conj. : *saṃghāditrotitāśśālāḥ* (?) Ed.) | *tāsāṃ pūjana-vicchittiyā svarūpaṃ saṃprakāśate*.

²⁶⁶ *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* (Triv.) 1.24–24: *vikalpavāsanāśūnyaprārūḍha*svātmasaṃvidāḥ* (em. Ed. : *ssātmasaṃvidāḥ* Cod.) *prathate kasyacij jñānam anapekṣitasādhanaṃ* | *udriktanirvikalpāṃśaṃ mandamandavikalpataḥ* | *prathate kasyacij jñānaṃ saṃketādikathāśrayāt* | *pūjanādikramāpekṣaṃ ṛsaṃsthitē + + kasyacit* | *vikalpasāmanantaryān *nirvikalpaṃ* (em. : *nirvikalpaḥ* Ed.) *pravartate*.

²⁶⁷ See *Tantrāloka* 1.140–245 (preliminary analysis [1.171–213: *śāmbhavaḥ*; 214–220: *śāktaḥ*; 221–241: *āṇavaḥ*; 242–245: *anupāyaḥ*), and *Āhnikas* 2 (*anupāyaḥ*), 3 (*śāmbhavaḥ*), 4 (*śāktaḥ*), and 5 and following (*āṇavaḥ*).

teaches enlightenment through non-conceptual transmission in terms that echo Abhinavagupta's conception of the highest means by defining it as a *śāmbhavaḥ samāveśaḥ* that transcends all methods (*anupāyaḥ*), and while it does not use the terms *śāktaḥ* and *āṇavaḥ* to define its two lower methods, those of oral instruction and meditative worship, its analysis of these follows the same theoretical model, for Abhinavagupta's presents his *śākta*- and *āṇava*- methods as means of reaching non-conceptual revelation (*nirvikalpakaḥ sāksātkāraḥ*) through the progressive refining of conceptual awareness of ultimate reality (*vikalpasamśkāraḥ*), through insight alone in the case of the *śākta*- method and through that supported by ritual worship and other forms of action in the case of the *āṇava*-.²⁶⁸ Our text's subdivision of the highest degree of the descent of power (*atīśaktipātaḥ*) into three levels also echoes the *Tantrāloka*, by adapting its doctrine of nine degrees of the intensity of this descent, in which three degrees, intense (*tīvraḥ*), moderate (*madhyamaḥ*), and mild (*mandāḥ*), are subdivided by themselves.²⁶⁹

As for the text's treatment of the Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless, at first sight that differs fundamentally from Abhinavagupta's, since, as we have seen, it teaches that they are thirteen in number in accordance with the tradition of their worship in all texts other than the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, which teaches seventeen, while Abhinavagupta reduces the number to twelve in keeping with his position that there is no transcendental reality beyond the twelve but one consciousness that is both one and twelve according to perspective.²⁷⁰ Our text could not drop one of the Kālīs, as Abhinavagupta has done, in order

²⁶⁸See *Tantrāloka* 4.1–7 for the doctrine that the essence of *śāktaḥ samāveśaḥ* or *śāktopāyaḥ* is the refining of conceptual thought of reality (*vikalpasamśkāraḥ*) through thought alone until it transcends itself to become non-conceptual intuition, and *Tantrāloka* 5.1–6 for the doctrine that *āṇavaḥ samāveśaḥ* or *āṇavopāyaḥ* is this same process when it cannot sustain itself through thought alone but must resort to other means. 5.3–4c: *vikalpaḥ kasyacit svātmasvātantryād eva susthiraḥ | upāyāntarasāpekṣyaviyogenaiva jāyate | kasyacit tu vikalpo 'sau svātmasamśkāraṇaṃ prati | upāyāntarasāpekṣaḥ* 'For some conceptual thought becomes fully stable through its own free agency alone, without having to rely on any additional methods. But for others it needs such additional methods to develop itself'. This mode of immersion is called *āṇavaḥ* because these additional methods are limited and diverse. 5.6: *nīśayo bahudhā caīṣa tatropāyās ca bhedinah | aṇuśabdena te cōktā dūrāntikavibhedataḥ* 'And this [process of the attaining of] certainty is manifold, and the means to it are many, some being closer to [pure thought] and others less so. It is for this reason that they have been termed contractions (*aṇuḥ*)'. On the methods of *āṇavaḥ samāveśaḥ* see p. 374.

²⁶⁹*Tantrāloka* 13.129c–254b, ending with the report that he owes this classification into nine to his Guru Śambhunātha, which is to say that it has no scriptural foundation.

²⁷⁰See his *Kramastotra* and *Tantrāloka* 4.148–180b.

to make the highest (Mahābhairavaṇḍograghorakālī) the twelfth rather than the thirteenth, because its exegesis is tied to the order of worship (*pūjākramah*), in which this Kālī is in the centre of a circle surrounded by the other twelve, whereas Abhinavagupta's exposition of these goddesses is free of this constraining context, being concerned, as Jayaratha puts it in a long and tendentious justification of this discrepancy, not with their order in worship, which could hardly be contradicted in a Krama text, but with their natural order in consciousness (*saṃvitkramah*).²⁷¹ However, our text reveals that it is aware of the Abhinavaguptan position, because it says that the thirteenth is distinguished from the twelve only figuratively (*upacārataḥ*), being in fact no more than the common essence of the twelve, the ground in which the distinction between them is dissolved, and that it is included for separate worship only because it is the realization of this inner unity pervading the twelve that is the ultimate goal.²⁷²

The ground in which the [separate] identities of these twelve goddesses are dissolved, which we refer to figuratively as the thirteenth goddess, is present as the highest object of worship, because it is this that is the goal.

Furthermore, the text has adopted Abhinavagupta's understanding of the nature of the twelve. Jñānanetraṇātha presents these as the three successive states of emission, stasis, and withdrawal, each subdivided into four stages, namely the same three followed by a fourth state, which he terms [final] rest (*viśramah*).²⁷³ Thus they are understood as the flow of cognition passing through emission of emission, stasis of emission, withdrawal of emission, the [final] rest of emission, emission of stasis and so on through to the [final] rest of withdrawal.²⁷⁴ The same model is seen in all other Krama sources that address

²⁷¹See *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, pp. 127, l. 6–134, l. 17. The core of Jayaratha's answer to the Krama's objection that there should be thirteen rather than twelve Kālīs is that there could only be thirteen in reality rather than worship if the thirteenth were separately manifest and that since that thirteenth could only be fully expanded consciousness (*parā saṃvit*) it would follow that the twelve, if other than that, would not be manifest at all, since all manifestation is of that one consciousness. There would then remain nothing but a single consciousness void of the manifestation of its dynamic structure (*nirābhāsaiva saṃvid ekaivāvaśisyeta*) (p. 129, ll. 1–11). Jayaratha introduces the distinction between the order of worship (*pūjākramah*) and the order in consciousness (*saṃvitkramah*) in pp. 161, l. 16–162, l. 9, saying that the Krama scriptures and the great Gurus following them have taught the former in order to conceal the latter.

²⁷²*Mahānaya*prakāśa (Triv.) 9.60–61b: *āsāṃ dvādaśadevīnaṃ svarūpavilayāvaniḥ | trayodaśīti yā devī kathyate hy upacārataḥ | upādeyatayā saiva paropāsyatayā sthitā*.

²⁷³See p. 274.

²⁷⁴*Kālikāstotra*, vv. 8–9. For text and translation see footnote 123 on p. 273.

this matter, namely the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Arṇasimha,²⁷⁵ the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* and its commentary,²⁷⁶ and the *Cidgaganacandrikā*.²⁷⁷ The Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* gives the same explanation, in terms that echo the *Kālikāstotra*, but modifies it by identifying the emission, stasis, and withdrawal that are subdivided into four with the fields of the object of cognition (*prameyam*), its means (*pramāṇam*), and its agent (*pramātā*).²⁷⁸

The single nature of the self permeates its states as the object, means, and agent of cognition, these being one with emission, stasis, and withdrawal. They in turn are fourfold through their multiplication in each case in accordance with the nature of the self by the phases emission, stasis[, withdrawal], and [the withdrawal of withdrawal]. This fourfold expansion [in each], from emergence (*udayaḥ*) [through manifestation (*avabhāsanam*) and internalization (*carvaṇam*)] to the devouring of time (*kālagrāsah*) has a single ground. Therefore, because these are the principal [aspects of the cycle], there are thirteen goddesses to be worshipped in the circle of the Nameless.

²⁷⁵*Mahānayaprakāśa*, f. 126r3–v4 (vv. 217–221): *parād *vyomno* (conj. : *yunmo* Cod.) *jhaṭity eva sphuritānanda*ghūrṇitā* (em. : *ghūrṇitāḥ* Cod.) | *yākramaspandalaharī vidyullekheva cañ-calā* | 218 *tasyā udayasamsthānasamhārodrakakalpanā* | *trividhā samakālena proditā kalanojjhitā* | 219 *tatrāpi *triprakārāyām kalpanāyām* (conj. : *triprakārākhyākalpanāyā* Cod.) *samantataḥ* | *pratyekasah *svarūpe* (conj. : *svārūpo* Cod.) *pi sṛṣṭyādikramasamjñake* | 220 **caturūrmicitam* (conj. [cf. *Cidgaganacandrikā* 174] : *caturthormiṣitam* Cod.) *rūpam udyogādivibhedataḥ* | *evam dvīṣaṭkasamvittikramo bhāti nirāvṛtaḥ* | 221 *sṛṣṭikālyādibhedena prathito *navadhiḥ* (em. : *navadhiḥ* Cod.) *paraḥ* | *nirālabhavikāsaikamahimā satatoditaḥ*.

²⁷⁶Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 118, l. 11–12 on 10.7 (*patteka saha antara daśa rāji mūlahade samya cukhaṇḍa* | *akkai ādideva *jagi* [em. : *jaga* Ed.] *bhāji todaśa sattadaśākṣara caṇḍa* [= Skt. *pratyekam sahāntar daśa rājate mūlahrade samyak catuṣkhaṇḍa* | *ekaivādidevī jagati bhrājate trayodaśī saptadaśākṣarā caṇḍī*] ‘Within the primordial lake [of consciousness] an inner four-fold state shines in each of these [phases] by including [the others]. The Primordial Goddess, seventeen-syllable Caṇḍī, shines undivided throughout the world [that they manifest] as the thirteenth’: *iti sṛṣṭikramasya sṛṣṭisthitisamhārānākhyagarbhbhāvah. evam sthitisamhārayoḥ* ‘In this way the phase of emission incorporates emission, stasis, withdrawal, and the Nameless. Likewise stasis and withdrawal.’

²⁷⁷Vv. 173–175.

²⁷⁸*Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.15–18b: *ekam svasvarūpam hi mānameya*pramāṭṛtāḥ* (em. [following citation in *Tāntrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 128] : *pramāṭṛtāḥ* Ed.) | *sargāvatārasamhāra*mayīr* (em. [following the same citation] : *mayair* Ed.) *ākramya vartate* | 16 *svasvarūpānugūnyena pratyekam kalanāvaśāt* | *sṛṣṭisthityādibhedaiś ca caturdhā *tā api* (em. [following the same citation] : *api tāḥ* Ed.) *sthitāḥ* | 17 *kālagrāsāntam udayāc caturdhā *vibhavo* (em. [following the same citation] : *vihito* Ed.) *hi yaḥ* | *tasya viśrāntir ekaiva tato devyas trayodaśa* | 18 **anākhyacakre* (em. [following the same citation] : *anyākhyacakra* Cod. : *anākhyacakra* em. Ed.) *prādhānyāt pūjanīyatayā sthitāḥ*.

This is exactly the schema found in Abhinavagupta's treatment of the twelve Kālīs in his *Tantrāloka*.²⁷⁹ The substitution of this triad of cognition for the older triads of emission, stasis, and withdrawal, will, knowledge, and action, or Śiva, Śakti, and the individual soul (*narah*) is indeed one of the most striking characteristics of his Trika exegesis.

This was not the only work of the author of the Trivandrum *Mahānaya-prakāśa*, though no other survives. He tells us here that he had written a commentary on the [*Krama*]*stotrabhṭṭāraka* [of Eraka],²⁸⁰ and, while outlining the hierarchy of the means of liberation, that he will restrict himself to expounding the course of Krama worship since the essentials of the higher method consisting simply of oral instruction in the Krama's aphorisms have already been explained at length in another work. It is probable, though not certain, that this explanation was contained in another work by the same author.²⁸¹

I shall now duly reveal to some degree on the strength of [my ...] this process of worship that begins with the sequence of the Pīṭha, that embodies both sequence and non-sequence, that is radiant with the tradition of the method of the successive phases of the expansion of the cycle [of cognition], lest this oral teaching of the Gurus should be lost with the passage of time, because the essentials of the method that consists solely in oral instruction in the aphorisms beginning with "It is [no sooner] seen [than] lost" have been expounded at length in another [work].

The Kramavilāsastotra

One other work dealing directly with the Krama's course of worship survives: the unpublished *Kramavilāsastotra*. Its author abjures identification, a usage

²⁷⁹ *Tantrāloka* 4.123c–125, 148–172.

²⁸⁰ *Mahānaya-prakāśa* (Triv.) 9.68–69: *anyair āvarakatvena ye bhāvāḥ parivarjitāḥ | tair eva jñāninām iṭham jājvalīti parā citiḥ | etadarthānusāreṇa stotrabhṭṭārake mayā | sphuṭam ye vivṛtāḥ ślokās tat...* 'Thus the highest consciousness blazes up for the enlightened through the very entities that others have avoided as obscuring [consciousness]. The verses in the [*Krama*]-*stotrabhṭṭāraka* that I have clearly explained in accordance with this teaching ...'. The *codex unicus* of our text breaks off at this point. The expression *Stotrabhṭṭāraka* is used for Eraka's *Kramastotra* elsewhere in this literature, e.g. in *Tantrāloka-viveka*, vol. 3, p. 223, l. 11; *Mahārthamañjarī-parimala*, p. 122, l. 20.

²⁸¹ *Mahānaya-prakāśa* (Triv.) 1.35–36: *drṣṭānaṣṭādīsamketakathāmātrasya marma yat | tat pra-pañcitam anyatra yad atah sāmpratam manāk | etat pūjanam akramakramamayaṁ pīṭhakramopa*kramam* (em. : *kramah* Ed.) *cakrollāsavibhāgayuktighaṭanāsāt*sampradāyojjvalam* (em. : *sampradāyojjvalah* Ed.) | **mā gāl luptim* (em. : *mā gāl luptam* Ed.) *ihedṛsam gurumukham kālakramād ity atah samyak* - - - - *navasād asmābhir unmīlyate*.

seen elsewhere in the literature of the Krama, referring to himself simply as “someone”.²⁸² In its opening verse the work offers homage to the whole course of worship in all its phases and constituents as the dynamic aspects as the single void of consciousness, then to the void alone, then to the four aspects of worship, namely the tasting of the sacramental substances (*caruḥ*), the practice of the sensual ritual (*cāraḥ*, *caryā*), the esoteric Mudrās (*mudrā*), and the Mantras (*rāvah*),²⁸³ and finally to each phase of the course of worship, up to that of the Nameless. In this course the text bears witness to a tradition that is not seen in the other texts discussed here. While in those the first phase, that of the Pīṭha, comprises worship of Uḍḍiyāna, its cremation ground Karavīra, its Kṣetrapāla, the Assembly, and the Great Sacrifice, here it comprises only four elements: worship of the Pīṭha, the cremation ground, the Kṣetrapāla, and Maṅgalā as the revealer of the Krama.²⁸⁴ Moreover, while this phase is followed

²⁸² *Kramavilāsastotra*, f. 102r5–v1 (vv. 27 [last]): *ittham etad adhigamyā kenacit svastutir *viṣayavṛndabhāvanā* (conj. : *viṣayandabhāvanā* Cod.) | *yena viśvam anīṣaṃ śivāśivapṛojjhita-kramavilāsasamstutam. śrīkramavilāsastotraṃ samāptam iti.*

²⁸³ *Kramavilāsastotra*, ff. 98v4–99v1 (vv. 3–7): *sarvasarvamayasarvacarvaṇenāpi yasya jagatām na tṛpyate | taṃ caruṃ *hṛtacarācarocayaṃ* (conj. : *hatacarācaroccare* Cod.) *cārucarvaṇacitiṃ namāmy ahaṃ | 4 bhāti yayā *satataṃ* (conj. : *śataṃ* Cod.) *sphuradarcir bhāsurakāntir *ayam* (corr. : *iyam* Cod.) **sumahāgniḥ* (su conj. : *sa* Cod.) | *tām api *saṃhṛtaviśvavilāsām* (*saṃhṛta* em. : *saṃhata* Cod.) *naumi nijām asamām iha caryām | 5 yena ghaṭṭitam idam jagat*trayaṃ* (conj. : *trayāc* Cod.) **cārucāraturākulakramaṃ* (*cārucāra* em. : *cāracāru* Cod.) | **viśvabhāsurakulamakramaṇa* (*bhāsura* conj. : *māsuma* Cod.) *taṃ *rāvam asmi* (conj. : *rāvaraśmi* Cod.) *satataṃ samānataḥ | 6 vyomni yo jhaṭīti naiva *lakṣyate* (corr. : *lakṣate* Cod.) *naiva cāpi (+) tadujjhitakramāt | taṃ *vibhinnaśakalākālārgalam* (*rgalam* conj. : *rggalā* Cod.) *naumi maudram atiraudram ādarāt | 7 yatra viśvam idam akramakramaprakramaṇa *hṛdi* (conj. : *hati* Cod.) *saṃcaratya alam | taṃ *carācarasamuccayārciṣaṃ* (conj. : *carāvarasamuccayorcciyām* Cod.) *naumi rāvam atirāvacyayā.* On these four aspects see *Cidgaganacandrikā* 73 and *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 106, ll. 11–20.

²⁸⁴ *Kramavilāsastotra*, f. 99v1–100r1 (vv. 8–11): *yatra *mūrtimadamūrtimatkramayutkramodayavirāmbhāsuram* (*amūrtimatkrama* conj. : *amūrttimakra* Cod. • *bhāsuram* conj. : *bhāsurā* Cod.) | *bhāti *raśmicaya*cakram akramaṃ* (conj. : *makramakramaṃ* Cod.) *naumi pīṭham iha taṃ nirāśrayaṃ | 9 *sarvasaṃhṛtimahānalānale* (*saṃhṛti* conj. : *saṃhati* Cod.) *yatra viśvam idam eti bhasmasā(t) | tac chmaśānam iha bhīṣaṇolbaṇaṃ rāvasaṃkulamahācitiṃ numah | 10 yo *mahānalamaricivisphuratsphārahārabalotkaṭo 'kramāt* (*visphurat* conj. : *visphura* Cod. • *hārabalotkaṭo 'kramāt* conj. [see the citation of the Mantra of the *Kālikulakramārcana* in footnote 286 on p. 321, in which the Kṣetrapāla is named *Mahāsaṃhārabalotkaṭa*] : *sārakabalotkaṭakramāt* Cod.) | *taṃ śmaśāna*vasatiṃ sphuradruciṃ* (conj. : *tat śmaśānavasatesphuradrutiḥ* Cod.) *kṣetrapālam *aham* (em. : *iham* Cod.) *ugram *ānataḥ* (em. : *ānnataḥ* Cod.) | 11 **yasyāḥ sphuraty eṣa* (corr. : *yasyāsphuratteṣa* Cod.) *mahā*mariciḥ* (em. : *marici* Cod.) *saṃhāracakrakramaṇena rāvah | niruttarajñānakṛtāvabhāsām śrīmaṅgalām asmi *samānatas* (corr. :

there by the worship of the five flows or voids (*pañcavāhacakram*, *khapañcaka-cakram*), the twelve rays of the *prakāśacakram*, the sixteen of the *ānandacakram*, the seventeen of the *mūrticakram*, and the sixty-four of the *vr̥ndacakram*, here the arrangement differs: after the first the *mūrticakram* precedes the *prakāśacakram* and *ānandacakram*; it is extended by the worship of an *amūrticakram* seen nowhere else; and between the *ānandacakram* and the *vr̥ndacakram* worship of the Guru is inserted.²⁸⁵ This approximates the course of worship set out by Vimalaprabodha in his *Kālikulakramārcana* on the basis of the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*. That lacks the *amūrticakram* but has the *mūrticakram* precede the *prakāśacakram* and *ānandacakram*; it gives the same four constituents in the worship of the Pīṭha, though it adds a fifth element after them, the [Bhairava] who embodies Mahākālī's weapon-Mantra;²⁸⁶ and it prefaces the first phase of the worship of the *vr̥ndacakram*, that of the sixteen Jñānasiddhās, with that of Maṅgalā, who is indeed the Krama's Guru, being the source of Jñānanetra's revelation.²⁸⁷ The worship of the *mūrticakram* before the *prakāśacakram* and

samānnatas Cod.) *tām*.

²⁸⁵ *Kramavilāsastotra*, f. 98v1–3 (v. 1): *yat khaṃ pañcamahāmarīcikhacitaṃ *cāturyacaryā-ñcitaṃ* (caryā conj. : *caccā* Cod.) *mūrtāmūrtamahāprakāśasahitaṃ śrīdvādaśakuñcitaṃ |* *ṭṭamkalyaṇavapuṭraśmiṣoḍaśavṛtaṃ vr̥ndakramālaṃkṛtaṃ śrīpīṭhāṅkamahāśmaśāna*nilayaṃ* (conj. : *nicayaṃ* Cod.) *vande mahaughāṅkitaṃ*; and f. 100r1–101r1 (vv. 12–18): *yādyānā-hatahatojjhitakramā* (*kramā* em. : *krama* Cod.) *pañcadbhā jagati rāvabhūsthitih | naumi *pañcavidharaśmipūjanaprakramaprasarasāhasena tām* (*pūjana* conj. : *pūjanaṃ* Cod.) | 13 *yatra sūryaśaśivahni*tāpakavyāpako* (conj. : *tāpakavyāpako* Cod.) *layalayo* (conj. : *bhaya-bhayo* Cod.) *virājate | rāsmīcakraṭṭnicayoghanāhatāṃṭ mūrticakram amalāṃ namāmi *tat* (corr. : *tām* Cod.) | 14 *yasya marīcicayasya samastavyastavikāsa*nirāśaghanaśrīḥ* (em. : *nirā-śaghanaśrī* Cod.) | *bhāty anukhaṇḍam *udagram ajaṃ tac* (conj. : *adusramajānta* Cod.) *cakram amūrtimalaṃ praṇato 'ham* | 15 *yasyā sā jagati sarvagā *sthitir bhāti* (em. : *sthi-tibhīti* Cod.) *nityam aviluptavigraham | tan namāmi varapīṭhasamsthitam dvādaśābham iha rāsmimaṇḍalam* | 16 *yābhīr asya jagato nirantarānugrahakramavidhir vidhīyate | śuddhabo-dhavihbhavaprabhābhīdhās *tā* (em. : *tan* Cod.) *namāni *gharīṇīr visārīṇīḥ* (em. : *gharīṇīvisārīṇī* Cod.) | 17 **yaṃ* (conj. : *yo* Cod.) *vilokya sabhayābhayabhrama(h) śāntim eti sahasaiva satkramaḥ | taṃ gurum sadasadādikalpanānīravarāśivadavānalaṃ numah |* 18 *jñānamantra-va(rā)melakollasacchāktasāmbhavavilāsacaryayā | vr̥ndacakram iha yat sthitaṃ sadā pañcavā-hamayaraśmi naumi *tat* (em. : *tām* Cod.).

²⁸⁶ *Kālikulakramārcana*, f. 5r3–5: *pūrvottaramaṇḍale HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ HŪṢ Oḍḍīyānapīṭhapāda madhye. HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ HŪṢ MAHĀPRADĪPTICAKRESVARĪŚRĪMAṅGALĀDEVĪ AMBĀPĀDA pūrve. HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ HŪṢ MAHĀKARAVĪRĀŚMAŚANAPĀDA dakṣe. HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ HŪṢ MAHĀSAMHĀRABALO-TKATAKṢETRAPĀLANĀTHAPĀDA uttare. HJSRAUṢ MAHĀKĀLIKĀSTRAPĀDA paścime.*

²⁸⁷ *Kālikulakramārcana*, f. 8r3–v1: *ṣoḍaśajñānasiddhacakra-pūjāvidhiḥ. yathā paścime maṇḍale* (0) *HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ *MAHĀMAṅGALĀ-AMBĀPĀDA* (em. : *mahāmaṇḍalā-ambāpāda* Cod.). (1) *HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ SAUṆḍINĪ-AMBĀPĀDA pūrve.* (2) *HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ JYEṢṬHĀ-AMBĀPĀDA.* (3) *HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ KAṆḌUKĪ-*

ānandacakram is also seen in the *Mahārthamañjarī* of the South Indian Śākta Maheśvarānanda.²⁸⁸

These facts are not sufficient to show that the text is not Kashmirian, since we know from the **Kramavaṃśāvalī* that there were Kashmirian Krama lineages whose procedure was based like that of this text on the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*.²⁸⁹ However, it must be said that there is no certainty that it is a product of this region, even though the phraseology of the text makes this very probable,²⁹⁰ as does its presence in a Nepalese codex with other Kashmirian Krama works.²⁹¹

AMBĀPĀDA *agnau*. (4) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ PAṬṬAKĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (5) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ KŪRMĀ-AMBĀPĀDA *dakṣiṇe*. (6) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ DHAMANĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (7) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ GANDHAKĀRIṆĪ-AMBĀPĀDA *nairṛte*. (8) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ MĀTAṆGĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (9) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ CAMPAKĀ-AMBĀPĀDA *paścime*. (10) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ KAIVARTINĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (11) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ MATTAKĀMINĪ-AMBĀPĀDA *vāyavye*. (12) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ ŚUTYAKĀ-AMBĀPĀDA. (13) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ BHAKṢAKĪ-AMBĀPĀDA *uttare*. (14) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ NABHAKṢAKĪ-AMBĀPĀDA. (15) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ ŚRAUTIKĀ-AMBĀPĀDA *īśāne*. (16) HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ RŪPIKĀ-AMBĀPĀDA.

²⁸⁸ *Mahārthamañjarī* 37cd: *sattadaḥa phālaṇette vāraha ccholaha a aṇṇaṇettesuṃ* (= Skt. *saptadaśa phālanetre dvādaśa ṣoḍaśa cānyanetrayoḥ*) 'Seventeen in the eye in the forehead, twelve and sixteen in the other two eyes'. On which he comments (*-parimala*, p. 87, ll. 6–7): *phālo lalāṭam. tadgate netre saptadaśa śaktayaḥ. tac ca mūrticakram ity āmnāyate* 'The *phālaḥ* is the forehead. In the eye thereon there are seventeen powers, and this is called the *mūrticakram*.'

²⁸⁹ *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 192, ll. 3–6: *śrīkramasadbhāvādikaśāstrāśayataś ca patrikā atra | śrīstotrakārabhāskarakuḷadharapūrvāsu saṃtatiṣu* 'Authorizations in these lineages that descend from [Eṛaka] the venerable author of the [*Krama*] *stotra*, Bhāskara, and Kuḷadhara follow the doctrine of the *Kramasadbhāva* and [related texts]'.
²⁹⁰ Note, e.g., (1) *yat khaṃ pañcamahāmarīcībhacitaṃ* (f. 98v1, v. 1a); cf. *Bhuvana-mālinīkalpaviṣamapadavivṛti*, f. 13r12–13: *svabhāvamāyanānāvidhollekhamarīcībhacitaṃ*; (2) *cāturyacaryāñcitaṃ* (f. 98v1, v. 1a); cf. *Kālikulakramasadbhāva* qu. in *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 190, ll. 12–15: *kramatrayāñāṃ yac cakram ghoraghorataraṃ mahat | kālarūpaṃ *marīcyādhyam* (conj. : *marīcyādyam* Cod.) *tvāṣṭram kalpāntakāntagam | ācāret tu mahācārācāturyeṇaiva tatra ca | yā kalā ghoraghorogrā tasyāḥ sā turyagā śivā; → Kramastotra* qu. *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 2, p. 188, ll. 1–4: *kramatrayatvāṣṭramarīcīcakraśaṃcārācāturyaturiyasattām; Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 7.279: *mahāsamayasamcārācaturair yair abhītiṭaḥ | ganyate svaprabhāvograiṛ bhairavo 'pi na nirbhayaīḥ*; (3) *cārūcārācaturākulakramam* (f. 99r2, v. 5b); cf. *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka*, f. 4v2–3 (v. 20cd): *taccārūcaryā kathanam saṃkrāmaḥ sparśa āntaraḥ*; (4) *anāhatahatojjhitakramāt* (f. 100r1–2); cf. Prabodha, *Aṣṭikā*, f. 97r12, v. 5cd: *naumi vāgvibhavamāntramātaram tvām anāhatahatojjhitām śivām; Mahānaya*prakāśa (Triv.) 7.147ab: *ākṛṣya ghaṭṭayaty uccair anāhatahatojjhitam*.

²⁹¹ See p. 437.

The Khacakrapaṇcakastotra

In addition to this we have one other surviving but unpublished Krama text that evidences a course of worship that deviates from the norm seen in the major Kashmirian sources, though in this case the evidence is indirect. This is the *Khacakrapaṇcakastotra*, the ‘Hymn to the Five Voids’. Written in the scriptural register of Sanskrit it is declared in its colophon to have been an oral transmission originating in Oḍḍiyānapīṭha from “all the Yoginīs” of that sacred site.²⁹² A narrative that precedes the hymn itself tells us that the occasion of the hymn’s creation and first transmission was, exactly as in the Krama scriptures’ account of their revelation, the “Great Assembly” (*mahāmelāpaḥ*) of Yoginīs in the Kara-vīra cremation ground.²⁹³ Here too, as in the Kashmirian post-scriptural texts, they are led by Maṅgalā, but they are one hundred and seventy rather than the sixty-four of the standard account. Five sets of seventeen assemble in five circles (*bhāsācakram*, *khacakram*, *dikcakram*, *gocakram*, and *bhūcakram*) corresponding to the Five Voids of the title, thus eighty-five in total, presided over by the five goddesses that govern these Voids (Vyomeśī, Khecarī, Dikcarī, Gocarī, and Bhūcarī). From these arises a second set of eighty-five, the first set in the sky (the *khacakram*) and the second on the earth (the *bhūcakram*).²⁹⁴ After they

²⁹² *Khacakrapaṇcakastotra* MS A, f. 89v3–4 (colophon): *iti śrī-oḍḍiyānapīṭhavinirgatam sarva-yoginīpranītam mukhānmukhavirvirnirgatam mahārthakramajñānārtham śrīkhacakrapaṇcakastotram samāptam*.

²⁹³ *Khacakrapaṇcakastotra* MS B, f. 1v (vv. 7c–8): *śrīpīṭha uttarānta*sthe* (conj. [Aīśa sandhi] : *sthā* Cod.) **aṣṭapīṭhasamudbhavāḥ* (*aṣṭa* em. : *abja* Cod.) | *karavīraśmaśāne tu ekacakrasamāgatāḥ* | *mahāmelāpamilitā yāgakrīḍotsave sthitāḥ* (*yāgakrīḍotsave* em. : *yogakrīḍātsavai* Cod.) ‘In the venerable Pīṭha of the north [the Yoginīs] originating from the eight Pīṭhas came together in a single circle in the Karavīra cremation ground. Joining in the Great Assembly they participated in the celebration of the Great Sacrifice’. In support of the emendation **aṣṭapīṭha-* for *abjapīṭha-* see *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 2v1 (1.53–55b): *aṣṭau pīṭhās tu ye proktāḥ sarvapīṭheṣu cottamāḥ* | *tatrasthās tu imāḥ sarvā āga(tā)s tu svabhāvataḥ* | *aṣṭāv aṣṭaguṇā divyāḥ svabhāva*darśanotsukāḥ* (conj. : *dasātsukāḥ* Cod.) | *catuḥṣaṣṭi(r) mahābhīmāḥ sarva*vīreśanāyaka* (em. : *sarvvavīrepraṇāyaka* Cod.) | *mahā*yāge* (em. : *yogai* Cod.) *tu vai rudra udyuktā(s) tu vidhānataḥ*; and → Śitikaṇṭha, *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa* 9.2: *aṣṭa pīṭha aṣṭāv aṣṭagune aṣṭāṣṭe *cubhaṣṭa* (em. GRIERSON [1929, § 64] : *cuaṣṭa* Ed.) *ma-haughā*.

²⁹⁴ The variant scheme is driven by the multiplication of the five levels, shared with the standard model of the 64 Śākinīs of the *vr̥ṇḍacakram*, by seventeen, that being the number of the sounds in the nine-syllable Vidyā of Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī (KHPHREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒŚVAR → MA-E-KHA-PHA-RA-MA-HĀ-CA-ṆA-ḌA-YA-O-GA-E-ŚA-VA-R); cf. *Devīdyardhaśatikā* f. 8v4–5 (vv. 91c–92b): *kule tam navadhā joyja kaule saptadaśākṣarā* | *navavarṇavibhedena jñeyā sā ṣoḍaśādhikā*. For the name of each Yoginī in each subset of seventeen in the first eighty-five begins with one

have sung their hymn the eighty-five in the sky dissolve, leaving the remaining eighty-five to transmit it to Bhairava.²⁹⁵

It is probable that this too is a product of Kashmir. For in spite of its scriptural style and consequent deviations from the grammar of the most learned Sanskrit, its opening verses venerate not only Maṅgalā but also Jñānanetra-nātha.²⁹⁶ Moreover, the hymn contains two sets of goddesses attested to my knowledge only in Kashmirian Śaiva tradition.²⁹⁷

of the seventh sounds. At the centre of these eighty-five is their leader (*cakranāyikā*), the goddess Maṅgalā, associated with the culminating *ṃ* [MA-] of the first KHPHREM. From her flows all authority through initiation in the Krama (*adhikārah*): *pañcāśītis tu *khecakram* (corr. : *kham cakram*) *tanmadhye cakranāyikā* | *maṅgalākhyā tu yā devī sādhipākarakarī tu sā* (MS A, f. 76v1–2, v. 40).

²⁹⁵ *Khacakrapañcakastotra* MS A, f. 87r4–1 (vv. 146–47): *evam stutvā mahāvidyā yoginyah sarvapīṭhajāḥ* | *dviprakārakramodbhūtāḥ pañcasaptadaśotthitā(h)* | *prathamās cakrasambhūtāḥ stutim kṛtvā layam gatāḥ* | *aparāḥ pañcacakrasthā bhairavasya prakāśitam*.

²⁹⁶ *Khacakrapañcakastotra* MS B, f. 1v3–4 (v. 3): *samarasapadalīno niḥsvabhāvaikavīrah *śamitasakalabhāvo* (*śamita* corr. : *samita* Cod. • *bhāvo* corr. : *bhāve* Cod.) *jñānadṛṣṭiprakāśaḥ* | *viditaparamatattvo labdhaviñjānasaukhyo rasitaparamabodho jñānanetr*ākhyānāthaḥ* (em. : *āthyanātha* Cod.) ‘The Nātha Jñānanetra has merged with the level where all experience is one. He is the solitary Hero of that beyond essence, he in whom all phenomena have been brought to silence, radiant with the vision of his gnosis, who has realized the ultimate reality, who has attained the bliss of understanding, who has relished the highest enlightenment’. The term *niḥsvabhāva* ‘without self-hood’, so familiar in Mahāyānist literature, is much used in the Krama. See, e.g., *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 9r5 (3.93cd): *niḥsvabhāvam niraupamyam nirlakṣyam nihprajayanam*; *Kālikulapañcaśataka* A, f. 5r2–3 (2.6ab): *niḥsvabhāvasvabhāvam ca dvaitādvaitavivarjitam*; *Yonigahvara*, f. 7r1–2 (v. 88): *etat svarūpaṃ ka[thi]tan ni(h)svabhāvam svabhāvagam* | *kālīnām paramam gūḍham mahāvyomāntabhāsakam*; *Kaulasūtra* f. 2v5: *bhāva-bhūtasamvidām ante niḥsvabhāvatāparyavasānam*; *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 5v4–5 (v. 73ab): *akulaṃ gurubhiḥ proktaṃ niḥsvabhāvam sadoditam*.

²⁹⁷ Thus *Khacakrapañcakastotra* MS A, f. 75r5–v2 (vv. 130–131b): *marīcijvāldhūmrābhe tāpane *tāpanadyuti* (conj. : *tāpane dyuti* Cod.) | **pācani* (corr. : *pācanī* Cod.) *havyavāhe ca* (corr. : *havyavājña ca* Cod.) **tejobhāsi* (conj. : *tejobhāpi* Cod.) *namo 'stu te* | *śatadhāme mahādhāme viśvadhāme tamontike*. These are the twelve solar Śaktis worshipped in the Kashmirian *Śivadīpaśrāddha* as the retinue of Saṃkarṣaṇadevī (= Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī), with the exception that there we have Padmagarbhā rather than Viśvadhāmā (*Karmakāṇḍa*, vol. 4, pp. 416–7; phot. reprod. in CHANDRA 1984, pp. 237d–238a): Marīci, Jvālīnī, Dhūmrā, Tapinī, Tāpinī, Pācinī, Havyavāhā, Tejovatī, Śatadhāmā, *Sudhāmā (corr. : *svadhāmāyai* Ed.), Padmagarbhā, and Tamopahā. The *Jayadrathayāmala*prastāramantrasaṃgraha gives this same set as the retinue of the Mata goddess Ardhaśaśvārī whose Kalpa is taught in *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 2, ff. 87r8–88v9 (*Paṭala* 17), giving the Mantra of the central goddess as HAM RJHRĪM DHĀMĀNTAKĀLĪ SAḤ and those of the twelve surrounding her in the same form, but substituting the twelve vowels in order (A to Ū, E to AU, AM, and AH) for the Ī of RJHRĪM and the names in place of DHĀMĀNTAKĀLĪ

The Bhāvopahārastotra and its Commentary

Other Kashmirian works survive that, though they tell us nothing concerning the details of the Krama worship, are nonetheless imbued with or influenced by the Krama: the *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa* of Ramyadeva, son of Jyogdeva,²⁹⁸ the *Śivarātrirahasya*, also called *Śivarātririrṇaya*, of Upādhyāya Śivasvāmin II, and the anonymous *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka*.

As for the first, the author of the hymn on which it comments, Bhaṭṭāraka Cakrapāṇinātha,²⁹⁹ was, like Cakrabhānu, Īśānī, and Jaiyaka, a Mahāvratin, as he himself declares:³⁰⁰

Supreme Lord, witness of all, accept [this] hymn from me whose thoughts are free of pride, disdain, and possessiveness, whose head is [now] placed on the throne that is your feet, my body covered with ash, a human skull in my hand. A nameless (*kaś cit*) ascetic has composed [this] transcendent hymn of the inner worship of Śambhu, lord of the wheel of consciousness, after retiring to [the cremation ground,] the grove of the Mahāpāśūpatas.

and.³⁰¹

followed by + KALĀKĀLI (ff. 18v7–19r3: HAṂ RJHRAṂ MARĪCIKALĀKĀLI SAḤ etc.).

The hymn also invokes the two sets of four goddesses that are held in the Kashmirian tradition to be Śaktis of the central deity of the Dakṣiṇasrotas (Bhairava) and Vāmasrotas (Tumburu) respectively (v. 135cd, 137ab): *siddhe śuṣke *kajābhe ca* (conj. : *kajābhāve* Cod.) *utpalākhye namo 'stu te | jaye ca vijaye devi jayanti cāparājite*. The third goddess of the first set of four is Raktā 'the Red' in all other sources. My emendation *kajābhe ca* gives a synonym 'She who has the colour of the red lotus'. I have accepted as an Aīśa licence the reading *jayanti* where grammar requires the vocative, since *jayanti* would be unacceptable, creating a completely iambic posterior Pāda. For evidence that the first of these sets and its combination with the other are peculiarly Kashmirian see SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 287–281.

²⁹⁸The name of his father is seen only in the colophon. Ramyadeva identifies himself and his teacher in the closing verse of the commentary.

²⁹⁹For his title Bhaṭṭāraka, denoting a Śaiva ascetic with authority over others, see Ramyadeva's commentary, p. 2, l. 11 (*bhaṭṭārakapādāḥ*). The name Cakrapāṇi is not found in the hymn itself but is given by Ramyadeva, who finds it alluded to in the hymn's last verse in *ciccakranāthasya* 'lord of the wheel of consciousness', stating that the author is thereby suggesting his identity with the object of his worship (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 44, ll. 3–5).

³⁰⁰*Bhāvopahārastotra*, vv. 46–47: *stotraṁ gṛhāṇa parameśvara viśvasākṣin mādāvamānamamatojjhitacittavṛtteḥ | mattas tvadaṅghriyugapīṭhanilīnamauler bhaṣmāvagunṭhitatanor nṛkapāla-pāṇeḥ | 47 mahāpāśūpatodyāne kaścid viśramya tāpasah | cakre ciccakranāthasya śambhor bhāvanutīm parām*.

³⁰¹*Bhāvopahārastotra*, v. 6: *tvatpādābjaraṇajhṛtācitābhaṣmavibhūṣitāt | gṛhāṇa mattaḥ śri-kaṇṭha bhāvapūjām akṛtrimām*.

Śrīkaṇṭha, accept this true mental worship from me who am adorned with the ash of funeral pyres that has been purified by the pollen of your lotus feet.

His hymn addresses Śiva and has no explicit Krama content. Nonetheless, there are elements of double meaning within its three opening verses of obeisance (*namaskāraślokaḥ*) that reveal that the author was indeed writing within this tradition:

(1) Obeisance to Bhava, the bestower of liberation who withdraws the body of Time through the array of the [twelve] solar powers (*sūryakalājāla-*), enthroned (*-pīṭhāya*) on (/whose Pīṭha comprises) both the throne and the enthroned. (2) Obeisance to Śiva, who garlanded with the lotuses that are the [sixteen] powers [latent] in the new moon embodies the highest bliss (*-ānanda-*), whose form is unmanifest (/in whom the *mūrtiḥ* is withdrawn) (*avyaktamūrtaye*). (3) Obeisance to Hara, the supreme self who manifests the mass of the bonds, immerses himself within them, dissolves them, and remains concealed in the innermost core of Mantra.

I propose that this alludes to the phases of the Krama's course of worship: those of the Pīṭha, the five Flow Goddesses that are its basis (*pañcavāhacakram*), the twelve solar powers of the circle of Illumination (*prakāśacakram*), the sixteen lunar powers of the circle of Bliss (*ānandacakram*), the circle of Embodiment, that is to say, of the re-emergent ego (*mūrticakram*), and its resorption [into the circle of the Multitude (*vrndacakram*), and, in the third verse, the four phases of Emission, Stasis, Withdrawal, and the Nameless. Ramyadeva does not offer this interpretation but he does read the work as a text of the Krama, finding its doctrines wherever his ingenuity and the resources of the flexible Indian *ars interpretandi* permit him to do so. Indeed he takes the very concept of the hymn, as an expression of worship in which the acts and offerings of the external cult are translated into mental enactments of immersion in the deity (*bhāvapūjā*), to be grounded in the Krama's tradition of oral instruction:³⁰²

³⁰² *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 2, ll. 1–12: *iha hi niruttaranirniketanāvata*vitāṅkālaṃkavalita-sakalakalpanākulaparamabhairavasatattvam* (em. *viṭāṅkasamkalitasakalakalanākula* Ed.) *avācyavācakaṃ *avarṇanirvarṇam* (em. : *avarṇanirvarṇanam* Ed.) **anādyantam anantabahirūpam* (em. : *anādyanantam antarbahirūpam* Ed.) *apūjyapūjakam api prasaraḍādyodyantrīṭvātārakramāvatārītapañcavāhamayākṛtrimapūjyapūjakakrameṇa *protsphuratīty* (em. : *protsphuratīti ritir* Ed.) *avigītamukhasampradāyasaraṇisamanugatā sarvāgamāntarghumaghūmāyamānā śrīvijñānabhairavādiṣu svakaṇṭhenaiva bhagavatā nirṇītā śrīsvatantrabhāṭṭārakādiṣu ca akṛtvā mānasam yāgam ityādivākyaair dhvanitā mānasayāgānatirekiṇī* (em. : *mānasayāgātirekiṇī* Ed.) *sarvabhāvopahṛtiḥ. tām eva bhāṭṭārakapādāḥ stotramukhena prakāṣayanta ādiślokenā-sūcayanti*. The emendation to *-alaṃkavalitasakalakalpanākulaparamabhairava-* is prompted by *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 18, l. 11–12: *sakalakalpanākulālaṃkavalanamayatvāc ca bhairavaḥ*. For Ramyadeva's dependence on the passage see footnote 315 on p. 329.

The highest Bhairava cannot be transcended, is beyond all contexts, and without imprint in the abyss of his being, having completely swallowed the manifest world of every constructive cognition. Being void of signs and what they signify, being free of both of the sounds of speech and of that which transcends them, being without beginning or end, interior or exterior, [the primordial ground] that he constitutes is untouched for us by [the artificial (*kr̥trimah*) relation of] the worshipped and the worshipper. Nonetheless it does manifest itself as a natural and spontaneous (*akr̥trimah*) process of [interaction between itself as] worshipped and [itself as] worshipper when it takes the form of the various unfoldings of the Five Flows [embodied in the order of Krama worship], these being brought into play as the actively flowing state of primordial energetic agency surges up [within it]. The ‘offering up of all phenomena’ [which gives the work its title] is in line with this established oral teaching. It resonates indistinctly in all the Śaiva scriptures, [but] is openly taught in such as the *Vijñānabhairava*,³⁰³ and evoked in such as the *Svacchanda* in statements such as ‘Unless he first does mental worship ...’.³⁰⁴ Intending to clarify through his hymn this process of offering up all phenomena [into Śiva], which is none other than that mental worship, the venerable Bhaṭṭāraka alludes to it in his first verse.

His position as an exponent of the Krama is also apparent in his citations of the works of others. These, apart from three quotations from Rājānaka Utpaladeva, one from the Saiddhāntika *Kālottara*,³⁰⁵ and one from the *Spandakārikā* of Kallaṭa,³⁰⁶ are from works of the Krama Gurus Eraka, Hrasvanātha (Vāmanadatta), Cakrabhānu, and Prabodhanātha,³⁰⁷ and from the Kālikula-

³⁰³ He alludes to *Vijñānabhairava*, vv. 1–16, ending *evamvidhe pare tattve kaḥ pūjyaḥ kaś ca tṛpyati* ‘In a supreme reality of that nature who is there that can receive *pūjā* offerings and who that can be gratified [in the fire of sacrifice]?’

³⁰⁴ *Svacchanda* 3.32c–33b: *akṛtvā mānasam yāgam yo ’nyam yāgam samārabhet | aśivaḥ satu vijñeyo na mokṣāya vidhīyate* ‘Know that anyone who undertakes the other[, external] worship without having first done mental worship is not a Śiva and [therefore] is not fit to attain liberation’.

³⁰⁵ *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 16, ll. 13–16 (= *Śivastotrāvalī* 16.29); p. 26, ll. 14–17 (= *Śivastotrāvalī* 13.16); p. 43, ll. 16–17 (not known); p. 30, ll. 3–4; p. 30, ll. 3–4 (= *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1.6c–7b).

³⁰⁶ *Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 30, l. 14 (= *Spandakārikā* 2.1a in Kṣemarāja’s numeration).

³⁰⁷ (1) *Kramastotra* (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 3, l. 14, citing Pāda c of the verse on Mahākālākālī without attribution; see *Tantrāloka* 3, p. 185, l. 15); (2) *Svabodhodayamañjarī* 19cd (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 19, l. 9 [unattributed]: *buddhavat sarvarāgī syāt sarvadvesyō ’tha bhairavaḥ*); (3) *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā* (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 43, citing v. 3cd without attribution), and (4) an unnamed hymn by the ascetic Prabodhanātha (*Bhāvopahāravivaraṇa*, p. 10, ll. 5–8).

and the first three aphorisms of the Krama-based *Kaulasūtra* can declare to the same effect:

- (1) There is but one Guru, the uninterrupted transmission of the rays [of enlightened consciousness] passed on to us through the initiatory lineage (*ovallīḥ*).
- (2) There is but one deity, the reality that they have perceived. (3) The power of its consciousness is nothing but the state of [their] innate self-awareness.³¹⁴

As for the date of Ramyadeva we can deduce from his citations of other authors that he was later than Prabodhanātha, who, as a pupil of Cakrabhānu, is likely to have been active around 975. However there are elements in his terminology and phrasing that suggest strongly that he knew the works of Kṣemarāja and is therefore unlikely to have been active before the eleventh century.³¹⁵ About his Guru Yogānanda we know nothing more, though it is conceivable that he is identical with the person of this name whom Abhinavagupta has listed among his teachers.³¹⁶ It has been claimed that Ramyadeva is identical with the

kakāraṇaṃ namāmy ahaṃ gurukramam.

³¹⁴ *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v4: *avicchinnaṃ ovallikramāyātamarīcisamkrāmaṇam evaiko guruḥ | tad-upalabdhāṃ eva tattvaṃ eko devaḥ | tasyaikā sahaajāhambhāvabhūmiś cicchaktiḥ*. Cf. the South Indian Maheśvarānanda's *Pādukodaya* quoted in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, pp. 15–16, especially p. 15, ll. 21–23: *sa ca svabhāvād ekaḥ sann aneka iva bhāsate | ārabhya maṅgalādīptiśī-vānandādikaṃ kramam | ambānāthapadādhyāsāt pāramparyeṇa pūjyate* 'And this though really one appears to be many and is worshipped sequentially beginning with the series that begins with Maṅgalādīpti and Śivānanda [= Jñānāneta] through the superimposition of the epithets -ambā [after feminine names] and -nātha [after masculine: HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ MAHĀMAṆGALĀDĪPTI AMBĀPĀDA. HRĪṢ ŚRĪṢ ŚIVĀNANDANĀTHAPĀDA etc.]'.

³¹⁵ The novel expression *prasaraḍādyodyantṛtā* (p. 2, l. 4, in the passage cited in footnote 302 on p. 326) echoes Kṣemarāja, *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 50, l. 1: *paraprakāśaḥ akṛtakodyantṛtātmanoccāreṇa dhāvati prasaraṭi ity arthaḥ* and p. 18, ll. 8–12: *yo 'yaṃ prasaradrūpāyā vimarśamayyā samvidō jhagityucchalanātmakaprapratibhōmajjanarūpa udyamaḥ sa eva sarvasaktisamarasyeṇa aśeṣaśīsvabharitātīvāt sakalakalpanākulālamkavalanamayatvāc ca bhairavo* The passage in bold beginning *sakala-* has been adapted by Ramyadeva in the same passage; see here footnote 302 on p. 326. The first of the introductory verses speaks of the Bhairava who is consciousness (*bodhabhairavaḥ*) being worshipped on all sides by the goddesses that are the sense-faculties (*karāṇeśvaryaḥ*). The expressions *bodhabhairavaḥ* and its synonym *cidbhairavaḥ* are a feature of the works of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja; see *Mālinīvijayavārtika* 1.42d (*bodhabhairave*); 2.147a (*cidbhairava-*); *Tāntrāloka* 1.123b (*bodhabhairavaḥ*); 4.23c: *cidbhairavāveśa-*; *Netroddyota* on 10.14 (*cidbhairava-*); on 19.162 (*cidbhairavanāthasya*); *Bhairavānukarāṇastotra* 2a (*cidbhairavam*); 48b (*cidbhairava*); *Svacchandodyota*, introducing 8.1 (*bodhabhairavasya*); Maṅgala verse of commentary on 11 (*svacchando bodhabhairavaḥ*).

³¹⁶ *Tāntrāloka* 37.60–62: **āmardasamṭatimahārṇavakarṇadhārāḥ saddaiśikairakavarātma-javāmanāthaḥ* (āmarda em. : ānanda Ed.) | *śrīnāthasamṭatimahāmbaṛagharmakāntiḥ śrībhū-*

scholar of that name who is mentioned as a contemporary by the Kashmirian poet Maṅkha early in the twelfth century. Nothing excludes that date, but the identification rests on the name alone and is fatally undermined by the fact that Maṅkha praises him not as a Śaiva but as a master of the Vedānta who wrote a commentary on the *Iṣṭasiddhi* [of Vimuktātman].³¹⁷

The Śivarātrirahasya of Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya

The *Śivarātrirahasya* of Śivasvāmin, probably the Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya [II] who was active during the reign of Raṅjit Singh (1819–1839),³¹⁸ gives an esoteric reading of the deities, the various vessels and other ritual substrates, the offerings, and timing of the worship to be conducted by Kashmirians on the thirteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna, the high point of the annual Śivarātri festival (*bērath*). The interpretation takes the outer elements of the ritual and translates them into symbols of structures in the body, senses and mind merging into and arising from Śiva in union with the Goddess as the pure, dynamic consciousness that is the innermost ground of the worshipper's awareness, making contemplation of these structures the power that animates and bestows efficacy on the outer processes. The Krama provides the symbolism of the cone-shaped Liṅga of baked clay known as the *sañḍ pōtul*³¹⁹ in Kashmiri. Said here to be five-faced and termed the *pañcaputtalaliṅgam*, its five faces are equated with (1) the five elements of the worship of the Pīṭha, from the Pīṭha itself, through the cremation ground (*śmaśānam*), the Site-Guardian (Kṣetrapāla), and the Assembly (*melāpah*) to the sacrifice (*yāgaḥ*),

tirājatanayayā svapitrprasādaḥ | trāiyambakaprasarasāgaraśāyisomānandātmaajotpalajalakṣmaṇa-
*guptanāthaḥ | turyākhyasamṭatimahodadhipūrṇacandraḥ *śrīsaumataḥ* (em. : *śrīsomataḥ* Ed.)
sakalavit kila śambhunāthaḥ | śrīcandraśarmabhavabhaktivilāsayogānandābhinandaśivaśakti-
citrānāthāḥ | anye 'pi dharmāśivavāmanakodbhāṭaśrībhūteśabhāskaramukhapramukhā mahā-
ntaḥ '(1) Vāmanātha, son of the excellent Guru Eraka, [my] helmsman over the ocean of the [Saiddhāntika] Āmardaka lineage, (2) the son of Bhūtīrāja, initiated by his father, [my] sun in the vast sky of the Śrīnātha lineage, (3) Lakṣmaṇaguptanātha, disciple of Utpala, the disciple of Somānanda, [my Viṣṇu] lying on the ocean of the lineage of Trayambaka. (4) the omniscient Śambhunātha, disciple of Sumati[nātha], [my] full moon over the ocean of the Kaula lineage, (5) Candraśarman, (6) Bhavabhaktivilāsa, (7) **Yogānanda**, (8) Abhinanda, (9) Śivaśakti, (10) Vicitrānātha, and other great [scholars] such as (11) Dharmāśiva, (12) Vāmanaka, (13) Udbhāṭaśrī, (14) Bhūteśa, and (15) Bhāskaramukha'. On the emendation *śrīsaumataḥ* for *śrīsomataḥ* see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 132–133, footnote 106.

³¹⁷ *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* 25.32–33. The claim is RASTOGI's (1979:192–193).

³¹⁸ On his date see footnote 653 on p. 425.

(2) the five gross elements from ether to earth, (3) the five sense-objects from sound to odour, (4) the five Cause deities from Sadāśiva to Brahmā, (5) the five Krama goddesses Vāmeśvarī, Khecarī, Dikcarī, Saṃhārabhakṣiṇī/Gocarī, and Raudraraudeśvarī, (6) the corresponding five phases of cognition: initial urge (*udyamah*), illumination (*avabhāsanam*), internalization (*carvanam*), the devouring of time (*kālagrāsaḥ*), and final quiescence (*viśrāntiḥ*), and also (7) with five manifestations of each of the five material elements in the worshipper's body.³¹⁹ The unacknowledged source on which the text is drawing is the chapter on the phase of the worship of the Pīṭha in the Trivandrum *Mahānaya-prakāśa*.³²⁰

The Jñānakriyādvayaśataka

As for the third and last of these works, the *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* ('A Hundred [Verses] on the Unity of Knowledge and Practice'), its subject, as its title

³¹⁹ *Śivarātrirahasya*, f. 3r18–19 (v. 84cd): *pañcaputtalaliṅgasya pūjanārtho 'yam īritah*; f. 3v1–12 (vv. 89c–96): *vimṛśyam pañcadhā rūpaṃ caitanyakulapañcake | 90 mṛṇmaye puttale debe pañcadhātvaṃ smṛtaṃ budhaiḥ | prathamam praṇavaḥ pīṭham vyoma vāmeśvarī tathā | 91 sadāśivodyamau caiva pīṭhadehaḥ prakīrtitaḥ | tataḥ śrīkhecarī devī vāyuh sparśo 'vabhāsanam | 92 īśvaraḥ *kāladāh*ātma (em. : ātmā Cod.) śmaśānam cintayed idam | prakāśānandarūpasya kṣetrasya parirakṣaṇāt | 93 melāpayāgayugmena kṣetrapālo 'bhidhīyate | rūpaṃ śrīdikarī tejo mahārudro 'pi *carvaṇam (em. : darśanam Cod.) | 94 vyāptam *saṃhārabhaksinyā (saṃhāra em. : saṃsāra Cod.) sāmarasyātmakam jalam | ukto melāpaśābdena pañcavāhopadeśakaiḥ | 95 raso jalam *gocarī (corr. : khecarī Cod.) ca kālagrāsaḥ ca keśavaḥ | alamgrās*ātmako (corr. : ātmake Cod.) yāgo raudra*raudreśvarīśritaḥ (corr. : raudrīśvarīśritaḥ Cod.) | 96 pṛthivī gandho bhūcarī ca viśrāntir ātmabhūḥ tathā | anudbhinnacidābhāsakulapañcakagocaram*. Having given the correspondences between the faces and the Krama's five aspects of internal awareness it goes on in f. 3v12–17 (vv. 97–100) to show the correspondences with the body of the worshipper. Here five entities are listed for each of the five gross elements from ether to earth, down to nails, hair, flesh, bone, and skin for earth. He sums up (f. 3v17–20 [v. 101–102b]): *evam cin-nāthadevasya pañca vaktrāṇi pūjayet | piṇḍasyāpi tayoś caikyajñānam liṅgasya pūjanam | na mṛṇmayasya liṅgasya pūjanam mokṣasiddham* 'In this way he should worship the five faces both of the Lord who is Consciousness and of the body. To worship the Liṅga is to know their untiy. Worship of the Liṅga of clay [alone] bestows neither liberation nor powers'.

³²⁰ *Mahānaya-prakāśa* (Triv.) 2.1–29b. The dependence is evident from the agreement in content, but also from verbal parallels. Thus cf. *kāladāhātma śmaśānam* (92a) with *kāladāhaikabhūḥ saīśā śmaśānam khecarī matā* (2.15cd); *prakāśānandarūpasya kṣetrasya parirakṣaṇāt* (92d) with *etadrūpaṃ param kṣetram prakāśānandabhūmigam | pālaye[t]* (2.18abc); *vyāptam *saṃhārabhaksinyā sāmarasyātmakam jalam | ukto melāpaśābdena* (94abc) with *sāmarasyātmanā saīśā pratyāvṛtṭyā samantataḥ | bhakṣayaty āntarasparsād ataḥ saṃhārabhaksinyā* (22c–23b); and *alamgrāsātmako yāgo raudraraudeśvarīśritaḥ* (95cd) with *raudraraudeśvarī yāgas tas-mād iṣṭo gurūttamaiḥ | alamgrāsakramah so 'yam mahāsahasajanmabhūḥ*.

indicates, is the necessity of engaging in non-dualistic Śaiva practice only if one possesses a proper understanding of the doctrine and is sincerely committed to its soteriological purpose. Though in general an unmarked expression of Śaiva non-dualism, it is coloured by Krama language:³²¹

Homage to [Śiva], whose vast awareness manifests the all-pervading display of the [universe of the] six paths, who is [also] the sun that forcibly devours the mass of all [those] phenomena.

...

Obeisance to him whose nature is to liberate all, glorying in the sequence of the Five Flows [that are the goddesses beginning with Vyomavāmeśvarī].

...

All-pervading, beautiful with the bliss and light that flows forth [in him] with eternal vigour, who manifests the three worlds as the expansion of the sequence of his circles of power, who remains immersed in the core where existence and non-existence have dissolved, who is ever eager to devour [into nonduality] direction, place, time, form, and all other [aspects of the manifest].

It emphasizes Krama methods of enlightenment:³²²

The Krama teaching passed on by the Guru, [participation in] a gathering of Siddhas and Yoginīs, their sensual practice, oral instruction, [non-conceptual] transmission, internal sensation ...

...through the most intense descent of power, or by force of one's own insight, as the result of practising the Guru's [oral] instruction, by worship, or by study of scripture, or by direct transmission of the knowledge of a perfected Yoginī or Siddha, or by immersion in the blissful sensation of a new consciousness.

³²¹ *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* A, f. 2r3–5 (v. 5): *ṣaḍadhvavitatasphāraṇāmahādhiye | namaḥ samastabhāvaughahatḥālamgrāsabhānave*; A, f. 2r7–v1 (v. 7ab): *pañcavāhakramodagra-sarvānugrahadharmiṇe*; and A, f. 12r6–v4 (vv. 71–72): *vibhuḥ prasaraḍamlānaprakāśānandasu-ndaraḥ | śakticakrakramasphāraṇāvisphāritajagattrayaḥ | pralīnasadasadbhāvamadhyaviśramama-ntharaḥ | digdeśakālākārādikavalikāradikṣitaḥ*.

³²² *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* A, f. 4v1–3 (v. 20), in a list of methods of enlightenment: *pāra-mparyakramāmnāyo yoginīsiddhamelakaḥ | taccārucaryā kathanaṁ saṁkrāmaḥ sparśa āntaraḥ*; f. 13r2–4 (v. 75c–77): *sūtvraśaktipātena svavimarśabalena vā | 76 *gurūpadeśānuṣṭhānād arcayā śāstrato 'pi vā | niṣpannayoginīsiddhajñānasamkramaṇena vā* (B, f. 10r2–3 : lacking in A) | 77 *navīnaciccamatkārasparśāveśavaśena vā*. The distinctive expression *svavimarśabalena* occurs in the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 2r11 (1.49cd): *prcchāmi paramaṁ devī svavimarśabalena tu*; and f. 12v 9–10 (5.44ab): *sā vidyāṁ tava vakṣyāmi svavimarśabalena ca*. Cf. f. 1v2 (1.17c–18b): *svavimarśadaśāntasthā tiṣṭhate paramaśvarī | kālī tu bhairavārūḍhā mahākālakalāśinī*.

and it pours scorn on hypocrites who use the language of the Krama as an excuse for licentious behaviour.³²³

Adopting misconduct they make love to others' wives declaring constantly that it is wrong to impede the inclination of the powers [of consciousness]. They are deluded in constant relish of the objects of the senses, saying that the goddesses of their faculties are [thus] filling the Lord that is consciousness with the objects of their enjoyment.

The manuscripts of this work that I have seen do not record the name of its author. But it was very probably Sillana, the author of another unpublished text, the *Svātmopalabdhiśataka*. For the phrasing of the two works is remarkably similar.³²⁴ As for the time of its composition, that can be determined at present only within very wide boundaries. A prior limit in the tenth century is set by the fact that it imitates a verse of a hymn by Utpaladeva.³²⁵ In another verse there is a striking similarity of phrasing with a verse in the *Mahānaya-prakāśa* of Arṇasiṃha, which would bring the limit up to the late eleventh

³²³ *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* A, ff. 7v7–8r6 (vv. 43–44): *necchāvighātaḥ kartavyaḥ śaktinām iti saṃtatam | kathayanto durācārāḥ kāmāyante parastrīyaḥ | 44 cinnātham karaṇeśvaryaḥ sambhogaiḥ pūrayanti naḥ | ity ūcānāḥ pramuhyaṇti viśayāsvādasamṭatau.*

³²⁴ (1) *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* (JKAS) f. 5r1–2 (v. 23cd): *viśṛṅkhalā parā śaktir hetuḥ svātmopalabdhaye*; cf. *Svātmopalabdhiśataka* (SUŚ), f. 12r4–5 (v. 102): *ity āptaśiṣasadbhāvabhāva-garbhasya sūnūnā | śatakam sillanenedaṃ kṛtaṃ svātmopalabdhaye*; (2) JKAS, f. 16r3 (v. 94ab): *teṣāṃ ananyasāmānyaparamaiśvaryaśālinām*; cf. SUŚ, f. 1r6 (4cd): *namaḥ svatantratodāra-paramaiśvaryaśāline*; (3) JKAS, f. 5v6–7 (v. 28ab): *śaktiḥ saṃbadhyate tivrā svatantrā svarasoditā*; cf. SUŚ, f. 3v2–3 (v. 27): *tathaiva nirapekṣiṇyā svarasoditayā vibhoḥ | mohanidrāprasakto 'pi paśuḥ śaktiā prabodhyate*; (4) JKAS, f. 4r1–2 (v. 17ab): *bhāvanāguruśāstrebyaḥ sadasadvastuniścayaḥ*; cf. SUŚ, f. 5v3 (v. 46cd): *buddhyāvbudhyate sadasadvastuniścayam*; (5) JKAS, f. 4r3–4 (18ab): *pratītiḥ svātmasattāyāṃ saha jñānubhava-kramāḥ*; cf. SUŚ, f. 6r4–5 (v. 51cd): *tathāsya svātmasattāyāṃ pratītir upajāyate*; (6) JKAS, f. 12r6–7 (v. 69cd): *vibhuḥ prasara-damlānaprakāśānandasundaraḥ*; cf. SUŚ, f. 6v5 (v. 56cd): *sarvataḥ prasara-sphārasvaprabhā-bharasundaraḥ*; (7) JKAS, f. 12v3–4 (v. 71ab): *digdeśakālākārādikavalikārādikṣitāḥ*; cf. SUŚ, f. 6v4 (v. 56ab): *kavalikṛtadigdeśakālākārādikalpanaḥ*; cf. (8) JKAS, f. 12v2 (v. 70ab): *pralīnasadasadbhāvamadhyaviśramamantharaḥ*; cf. SUŚ, f. 6v2–3 (v. 55ab): *parāmṛtarasāsvādanirbharānandanamantharaḥ*; (9) JKAS, f. 2r2–3 (v. 4c): *durvijñeyarahasyāya*; cf. SUŚ, f. 7v4 (v. 65a): *durvijñeyarahasyatvād*; (10) JKAS, f. 2r1–2 (v. 4ab): *carācarajagatsphārasphurattāmātradharmiṇe*; cf. SUŚ, f. 6r6 (v. 53ab): *sphuraccarācarasphāranānākāraparigrahaḥ*.

³²⁵ *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka*, f. 1v4– (v. 2) (*āsannāya sudūrāya guptāya prakāṣātmane | sulabhāyātidurgāya namaś 'citrāya śambhave* [unattributed quotation in *Subhāṣitāvalī*, v. 22] and f. 2r5–7 (v. 6) (*udriktāya praśāntāya kṛtānāya dravātmane | māyāvine viśuddhāya namaḥ svādhīnaśaktaye*) draw on *Śivastotrāvalī* 2.12: *māyāvine viśuddhāya guhyāya prakāṣātmane | sūkṣmāya viśvarūpāya namaś citrāya śambhave*.

century, if it were not that the direction of borrowing is uncertain.³²⁶ The posterior limit is set by unattributed citations in the *Stutikusumāñjaliṭīkā* of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, completed in A.D. 1681,³²⁷ and in the Kashmirian anthology *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva.³²⁸ The date of the latter is uncertain but it cannot have been earlier than the fifteenth century, since it includes verses by Rājānaka Jonarāja, who died in A.D. 1459/60.³²⁹

THE HIGHER KRAMA OF THE ORAL INSTRUCTIONS

We have seen that the unknown author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* teaches that the attainment of the goal through the Krama's course of meditative worship (*pūjanam*) is the lowest of three means of enlightenment, that the highest is a non-conceptual transmission (*saṃkramaṇam*), a sudden and definitive revelation of the Primordial Ground (*purāṇādhiṣṭhānakramah*, *anupāyakramah*) brought about by a non-conceptual (*nirvikalpaka*-) transmission from Guru to disciple, and that between that and Krama worship is a method of oral instruction (*kathanam*), in which self-realization is initiated by the Guru through instruction in a corpus of aphorisms designed to project the recipient with a minimum of conceptualization into direct, non-conceptual enlightenment (*sāhasasamādhiḥ*) without recourse to the gradualist path of Krama worship. We have also seen this higher method claimed by Nāga as the source of his own enlightenment, invoked by Rāmyadeva as the basis of Cakrapāninātha's

³²⁶There is a close parallel between f. 2v1–2 (v. 7cd) (*mohatāmisravīdhvaṃsapracandamahase namaḥ*) and f. 15v4–5 (v. 94cd) (*te mohadhvāntavidhvaṃsacandamārtandamūrtayah*) on the one hand and f. 120v5 (v. 166cd) of Arṇasiṃha's *Mahānayaprakāśa* (*bhavatīḍbhāntivibhrānti-vidhvaṃsoccandadidhitih*) on the other.

³²⁷Ratnakaṇṭha quotes vv. 24–26 in his *Stutikusumāñjaliṭīkā* on 30.39 as the work of a scholar of the Āgamas (*āgamavidah*). According to the opening and closing verses of this commentary it was begun in Śaka 1602 (A.D. 1680/1) and completed in Vikrama 1738 (A.D. 1681/2).

³²⁸Vv. 1, 2, and 4 have been included by Vallabhadeva without attribution as vv. 21–23 in the section of his anthology devoted to verses of religious obeisance (*namaskārapaddhatih*).

³²⁹*Subhāṣitāvalī*, v. 3038 (*śrījonarājasya*) = Jonarāja, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 696. The date of Jonarāja's death is recorded by his pupil Śrīvara in *Jainarājatarāṅgiṇī* 1.6: *śrījonarājāvibudhaḥ kurvan rājatarāṅgiṇim | sāyakāgnimite varṣe śivasāyujyam āsadat* 'The learned Jonarāja attained union with Śiva while still writing his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in the year [Laukika 45]35'. *Subhāṣitāvalī*, vv. 621 and 3038 are attributed to Jonarāja with the title Rājānaka. That anthology also contains numerous verses by the fourteenth-century Kashmirian poet and grammarian Jagaddhara. The latter's approximate date is determined by the fact that Rājānaka Śītikanṭha reports in his *Bālabodhinīyāsa*, completed during the reign of Ḥasan Ṣāh (r. 1472–1484), that he is the son of the daughter of Jagaddhara's grandson.

Bhāvopahārastotra, and mentioned among the means of liberation in the *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka*.

The Chummāsamketaparakāśa of Niṣkriyānandanātha

The tradition of oral instruction to which these authors refer is preserved in the unpublished *Chummāsamketaparakāśa* of Niṣkriyānandanātha. This work is a Sanskrit commentary that transmits and explains one hundred and five brief aphorisms in Old Kashmiri consisting of from one to three words, which it calls variously the *chummāḥ*, *chummāpadāni*, *saṃketapadāni*, and *padāni*.³³⁰ The term *chummā* is seen in the non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva Tantras, generally of the Vidyāpīṭha, and the Buddhist Yoginītantras (/Yoganiruttaratantras), appearing also as *chumma-*, *chummaka-/chummakā-*, *choma-/chomā-*, *chomaka-/chommaka-*, and *chommakā-/chommakā-*.³³¹ In those sources the term denotes words or hand-signals by means of which initiates recognize each other or communicate secretly.³³² The word is, I propose, Middle Indo-Aryan, deriving from Old Indo-Aryan *chadman-* ‘a disguise’.³³³ Here in the Krama the word means rather ‘esoteric instruction or knowledge’. It is in this sense that it appears in

³³⁰ *Chummāsamketaparakāśa* ff. 2v10–3r1 (27–28b): *yogyas tvaṃ sanmate putra durgame ’min mahākrame | ity uktvā kṛpayāviṣṭo bodhayām āsa māṃ prabhuḥ | kiṃci[c] chummopadeśaṃ tu saṃketapadavistaram;* f. 3r8–9 (36–37): *parataram aniketam tattvamārgasthitam te | nirupama-padachummāsampradāyam samantāt | svarasavaśatayāham tvatkrpāghrātacittam | prakāṭatara-vacobhir darśayāmy āsu nūnam;* f. 13r9 (218ab): *pañcādhikaśateneha padaugho yaḥ sthitam parat;* Anantaśakti on *Vātulanāthasūtra*, p. 2, ll. 2–3: *śrīmadvātulanāthasya *pīṭheśvaryaś chummāpadaugham* (em. : *pīṭheśvarya ucchuṣmapādaugham* Ed.) *uktvā*. For this emendation see footnote 374 on p. 347.

³³¹ *Tantrāloka* 29.37 (*chummā/chumma-*), *Svacchanda* 15.1, *Tantrālokaiviveka*, vol. 12, *Āhnikā* 29, p. 28 (*chummakā*), *Netratantra* 20.39 (*chummaka-*); *Picumata*, f. 245r2 (53.98d): *cchomakādya(n)galakṣaṇaiḥ;* *ibid.*, (53.99a): *cchommakā *kīdṛśā* (corr. : *kīdṛśo* Cod.) *deva;* f. 246v3 (15.163a and colophon): *cchommakām ...cchommādhikāras;* f. 290r4: *cchomādhikāro;* *Hevajratantra* 1.7.1: *atha chomāpaṭalam.*

³³² *Picumata*, f. 245r2 (53.99): *chommakā *kīdṛśā* (corr. : *kīdṛśo* Cod.) *deva kulānām sādhanasya ca | prajñāyate yathā bhrātā bhaginī vā viśeṣataḥ;* *Hevajratantra* 1.7.1: *atha chomāpaṭalam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ. yena vijñāyate bhrātā bhaginī ca na saṃśayaḥ;* Kṣemarāja, *Svacchandodyota*, vol. 6, p. 126: *chummakā tatsamayānupraviṣṭasaṃcityā pāribhāṣikī saṃjñā;* *Netroddyota*, vol. 2, p. 233: *āgamikapāribhāṣikanāmāni;* Kāṇhapāda, *Hevajratantrayogaratnamālā* on 1.7.1: *chomā milicchā yoginīnām saṃketenābhisamayajalpanam;* *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*, p. 87, ll. 6–7: *kāya-chomādvākchomāsamketena vyavahāraḥ kriyate;* *Laghvabhīdhāna*, f. 24v4: *iti śrīherukābhīdhāne bhakṣahomabalikriyāhastacchomāvidhipāṭala ekatṛiṃsatimam.*

³³³ Through *chaūma-* by analogy with the development of *pōmma-* from *padma-* through *paūma-*; see PISCHEL 1900, §§ 139 and 166; *Siddhabhāmacandra* 8.1.61, 8.2.112.

Modern Kashmiri *chōmb* (f.), being glossed in Sanskrit by Paṇḍit Mukunda Rāma Śāstrī in Grierson's dictionary (1932) as *gūḍhaviññānam* 'hidden knowledge' and in English as 'secret knowledge (by which the accomplishment of some difficult task is rendered easy), private experience'.

That the language of the Chummās is Old Kashmiri is not apparent in the majority of them, since these consist of unmodified (*tatsama*-) Sanskrit nominal stems, most with the nominative singular ending *-u* seen in the masculine in Old Kashmiri (for Sanskrit masculine and neuter) but also in Apabhraṃśa, as in the first four: *liṅgu abhijñānu* | *araṇīsamudāyu* | *cakreśīmelaku* | *kālagrāsu* 'The point of fusion is the means of recognizing [the self]'; 'It arises from the [attrition of the two] kindling sticks'; '[There comes about] the merging of the goddesses of the circle'; 'Temporal sequence is devoured'.³³⁴ However, that the language is Kashmiri is established by sound changes, morphology, and vocabulary. In the first category we see *-tī* to *-cī* and *-ttī* to *-ccī* in the following three Chummās: (1) *pānthāvadhūcī*, glossed:³³⁵

Though sporting everywhere absolutely unimpeded, with no fixed abode, by virtue of the pervasive manifestations of cognition, he comes at last like a traveller (*pānthavat*) to the pure (*avadhūtīkām*) and beautiful (*añcitām*) flow that cannot be entered, that is untainted [by these wanderings] that are like water that rests upon [but does not dampen] the lily-pad.

(2) *maccī umaccī*, glossed:³³⁶

Because consciousness surges up with innate autonomy she becomes reckless, taking on ever-new forms and devouring them all [from moment to moment]. She gives no thought to what is right or wrong, being constantly fickle. But when this same [consciousness] is sated she completely transcends this madness. [For] when [in this way] she catches sight of the highest Śiva he tames her recklessness. For this reason consciousness, who never deviates from [this] her [inner] nature for those blessed [by her favour] has been called *mattonmattā* 'mad [and] free of madness'.

³³⁴ *Chummāsamketaprakāśa* ff. 3r9, 3v3, 3v5, and 3v8.

³³⁵ *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 6v8–9: **pānthāvadhūcī* (*pānthā* conj. : *panthā* Cod.) *sarvatra ramamāṇo 'pi niyatāśrayavarjitah* | *saṃvidullāsavibhavair anirodhatayābhītaḥ* | 92 *prāpnoti vṛttim agamāṃ pānthavat tv avadhūtīkām* | *nirlepāṃ puṣkaradalasthitavārīvad añcitām*.

³³⁶ *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 7r1–3: *maccī umaccī. svasvātantryodayatayā nirvicāratvam āgatā* | *saṃvin navanavollekharūpiṇī sarvabhakṣiṇī* | 94 *yuktāyuktavicārais tu varjitā cañcalā sadā* | *yā sthitā nirbhārā saiva proccair unmattatām gatā* | 95 *paramaṃ śivam ālokya tadvaśī-kṛtācāpalā* | *mattonmattā citiḥ khyātā satām apracyutā tataḥ*. This indicates that *unmattikā* is to be understood as 'beyond wildness' (*udgatam mattam mattatā jasyā sonmattikā*).

and (3) *athicī thiti*, glossed:³³⁷

The eternal stasis is the impenetrable, unshakeable domain of the Nameless in which the stasis that is the emergence of differentiation is dissolved.

Niṣkriyānandanātha, then, takes *pānthāvadhūci* to be equivalent to Skt. *pāntho 'vadhūtīm* and to mean '[Like a] traveller [he reaches] the pure [state]', *maccī umaccī* to be equivalent to Skt. *mattikonmattikā* and to mean '[First she is] wild [; then she is] tamed', and *athicī thiti* to be equivalent to Skt. *asthityā sthitiḥ* or *asthitau sthitiḥ* and to mean '[True] stasis [comes about] through [or in] the cessation of stasis'. These readings are in keeping with the change of dental *t* to *ṭ* before *ü-mātrā* (< OIA/MIA -i), *i*, *ē*, or *y* that is distinctive of Modern Kashmiri.³³⁸ Moreover, the ending -ī for the instrumental or locative singular of a feminine noun whose stem ends in -i/ī is as in the Old Kashmiri of the *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, which exhibits in *viccī* (10.2) (Skt. *vr̥tṭyā*) both this morphology and this sound-change.³³⁹ The stem *thiti* (Skt. *sthiti-*) is also seen there,³⁴⁰ and though in that text feminine *i/ī*-stems such as *thiti-* normally take the ending -a in the nominative they do not always do so.³⁴¹

Also indicative of Old Kashmiri are *rami ekāyanu*, glossed:³⁴²

He who is the one ground, perfect and all-pervading, plays without falling from his nature as he performs every action of every kind throughout the universe.

³³⁷ *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 10v6–7: *athicī thiti*. 163 *bhedonmeṣasthitir yatra layaṃ yātā-game pade | aprakampye nirākhyākhye sā sthitiḥ sthitir avyayā*.

³³⁸ GRIERSON 1929, § 8. With *maccī* and *umaccī* we may compare Modern Kashmiri *mūcī* 'mad' in the feminine as against *moṭ* in the masculine.

³³⁹ GRIERSON 1929, §§ 173 and 206.

³⁴⁰ *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* 3.5d: *thitiniṣṭha*; 6.5b: *thitimaya*.

³⁴¹ For the nom. sg. in -a of *i/ī*-stems in the *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* see, e.g., *kālasamkarṣaṇa* (4.6a), ←Skt. *kālasamkarṣaṇī*; *raudreśara* (5.4a), ←Skt. *raudreśvarī*; *uppatta* (6.4b), ←Skt. *utpattiḥ*; *siṣṭa* (3.5b), ←Skt. *sṛṣṭiḥ*; and *śatta* (6.4c), ←Skt. *śaktiḥ*. Cf. Modern Kashmiri *būm* 'land', ←Skt. *bhūmiḥ*; *būth* 'sacred ash', ←Skt. *bhūtiḥ*; *gath* 'motion', ←Skt. *gatiḥ*; *gāṭh* 'knot', ←Skt. *granthiḥ*; *rāth* 'night', ←Skt. *rātriḥ*; *sēd* 'success', ←Skt. *siddhiḥ*; *shēk^ath* 'power', ←Skt. *śaktiḥ*; and *shēṭh* 'the sixth day of the lunar fortnight', ←Skt. *ṣaṣṭhī*. But the ending in -i/ī is preserved in the *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* in *utti* (12.7c), ←Skt. *uktiḥ*; and *para śatti* (3.5a), ←Skt. *parā śaktiḥ*. In the *Chummās* in all the numerous instances of stems in -i the final vowel is retained. This is consistent with but not proof of their being earlier than the *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*.

³⁴² *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 4r7–8: *rami ekāyanu*. 51 *yatas tatas tu sarvatra sarvakarma yathā tathā | kurvan nirāmayo vyāpī krīḍaty ekāyano 'cyutah*.

and *asphura ulati*, glossed: ³⁴³

The formless, unlimited Śakti of which we speak in this [system] is this eternally open ultimate ground free of all [phenomena], free of all obscurations, its nature the absence of radiance, into which the radiance that is the manifestation of infinite cognitions dissolves.

The *-i* ending of the two verbs *rami* and *ulati* is that seen in the *Mahānaya-prakāśa* for the third person singular of the present indicative,³⁴⁴ and the verbs themselves survive in the modern language as *ramun* 'to play' and *wul^utun* 'to revert, to turn back'.³⁴⁵ The two Chummās, then, are clearly Old Kashmiri, and mean respectively 'He who is the one ground plays' and '[Radiance] reverts into non-radiance'.

Other proofs are *catṭa-* 'cutting' in *catṭaniścattī* 'cutting and its absence' (Modern Kashmiri *caṭh* 'cutting', *caṭa-caṭh* 'cutting or tearing apart'), glossed:³⁴⁶

Cutting is the vanishing of the breath and non-cutting is its [re-]activation.
Here this one being is the arising of both.³⁴⁷

khita khita 'having repeatedly devoured' (*khēth khēth*, the Modern Kashmiri doubled conjunctive participle with the same meaning³⁴⁸), glossed:³⁴⁹

The diverse [reality] that pervades the universe is called food when it has been partly dissolved by the rays of one's awareness, because then one experiences [one consciousness simultaneously as] the devourer, the devoured, and [act of devouring].

³⁴³ *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 10r8–v1: *asphura *ulati* (conj. : *ulatti* Cod). 155 *anantasam-vidvisphārasphurattā layam āgatā* | *yatra sarvojjhite dhāmnī pare nityavikasvare* | 156 *asphura-ttāsvarūpe 'smin sarvāvaranavarjite*.

³⁴⁴ GRIERSON 1929, § 231, e.g. *kari* (Skt. *karoti*) (3.6d etc.); *jayi* (Skt. *jayati*) (1.5d). In Modern Kashmiri this form in *-i* has been replaced by a participial construction with the present of the auxiliary verb; but it survives as the 3rd sg. of the future and conditional.

³⁴⁵ So in Modern Kashmiri *su rami/wul^uti* 'he will/may play/turn back' and *su cchu ramān/wul^utān* 'he plays/turns back'.

³⁴⁶ *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 12v4–5, 203ab: *catṭaniścattī. catṭaḥ prāṇavināśas tu niścattāḥ prāṇaghataḥ* | *sa eveha vinirdiṣṭaḥ catṭaniścattakodayaḥ*.

³⁴⁷ Cf. p. 342.

³⁴⁸ GRIERSON 1932, s.v. *khyon^u*, p. 427a10.

³⁴⁹ *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 12v3–4: *khita khita*. 202 *yad viśvavibhavaṃ citram iṣallīnaṃ svacitkaraiḥ* | *tad eva bhokṭrbhogyādibhogād bhuktam ihocyate*.

ditto nitto ‘seen [and] vanished’ (Modern Kashmiri *dyūṭh^u* [stem *ḍiṭh-*], past participle passive of *ḍēshun* ‘to see’, and *nūṭh^u*, past participle of the intransitive *nashun* ‘to be destroyed, vanish’),³⁵⁰ glossed:³⁵¹

Thus when this universe of differentiation, from the fire of the aeon [at its base] to Śiva [at its summit], has been seen but once through correct instruction it immediately vanishes into the state of non-dual consciousness.

and *lāhapravāhī*, glossed:³⁵²

A *lābah* is so called because through its power it constantly bestows (*lā-*) embodiment as the extroverted state of rise and perdurance and then by the same means suddenly removes [that state] (*-ha-*). It is called a *lāhapravāhah* ‘a *lāha*-flow’ when it endures. This manifestation of [violent] expansion followed by [sudden] transcendence that characterizes a *lāhapravāhah* is the non-sequential indestructible path of no reflection. It shines uninterrupted as the shining forth of the ‘void’ that is the nature of the self.

The last, I suggest, is connected with Modern Kashmiri *lahaprāh/lāhaprāh* m. ‘an attack of hysterical fever or a cataleptic condition brought about by some sudden terror (looked upon as a kind of demoniacal possession which attacks babies and pregnant women),’³⁵³ and *prāh* m. ‘possession by a demon (believed to cause fainting, madness, fury, fever, etc.).’³⁵⁴ It appears in the light of these meanings and the gloss of Niṣkriyānandanātha that the Chummā means ‘seizure and trance’, having in mind a state of spirit possession which first manifests itself as a state of excessive fury and immediately after that as a state of prolonged catalepsy, using this figuratively to point to means of sudden enlightenment in which a state of extreme excitation is the point of entry into the

³⁵⁰GRIERSON 1932, pp. 254b1–2 and 656a45–50. For the ending *o* instead of the usual *u* in Old Kashmiri for the nom. sg. of nouns originally masculine or neuter see GRIERSON 1929, § 159.

³⁵¹*Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 13r6–7: *ditto nitto* (em. : *dibbo nibbo* Cod.). 214 *itthaṃ bhedamayam sarvaṃ kālāgnyādi śivāntakam | tattvena vyapadeśena sakṛd yad dṛṣṭam akramāt |* 215 *tatṣaṅgān nāsam āyāti tad evādvayacitpade.*

³⁵²*Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 12v5–7: 204 *śaktyodayasthitisphāravigrahaṃ lāti yas sadā | tenaiva harati kṣiprād yato lāhas tataḥ smṛtaḥ |* 205 *sa eva pravahadrūpaḥ pravāha iti kathya-* *te | avināśasvabhāvo yo nirvitarkakramo ’kramaḥ |* 206 *lāhapravāhikā seyaṃ hānivrddhimayī prathā | svabhāvagaganābhāsarūpācchinnaiva bhāsate.*

³⁵³GRIERSON 1932, p. 515b11–16. Sanskrit gloss: *bhūtāveśaḥ*.

³⁵⁴GRIERSON 1932, p. 757a43–b13. Sanskrit gloss: *bhūtādyāveśaḥ*.

tranquil core of consciousness.³⁵⁵

The commentary includes a frame-text in which the author presents himself as having received these aphorisms on which he is commenting in a miraculous revelation from a Siddha. In the opening passage of the text as it survives—the first folio side (1v) is lacking—Niṣkriyānandanātha relates that the Siddha's favouring glance caused him to fall to the ground in a trance in which he experienced the core of consciousness:³⁵⁶

Through the glory of his glance I collapsed on the ground like a felled tree and in a flash attained the incomparable state that is free of the external and internal faculties, inaccessible to the means of knowledge, free of defects, beyond the influence of time or its absence, beyond the lights [of the object, medium, and agent of cognition] yet pervading them, unlocated, neither sequential nor non-sequential, overflowing with the flooding rapture of the ultimate joy of the contactless, beyond bliss, beyond the means of immersion, free of the errors of 'is' and 'is not', free both of conceptual and non-conceptual awareness, with a nature that transcends [all levels of] cognition, free of the stain [even] of the latent impressions [of what it transcends].

After a long time he is roused by the Siddha from his rapture and, astonished by what he has experienced, full of joy, freed from ego, and feeling the emptiness of all the knowledge he had acquired up to that time, he asks the Siddha to teach him how the state he has experienced can become permanent:³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵Just such means are taught in *Spandakārikā* 1.22. I take the ending *-ī* in this Chummā and *caṭṭaniścaṭṭī* to be that of the nom. pl. of *a*-stems. In the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣa* it is usually *-a* (GRIERSON 1929, §§ 191–192), but there are also a few instances of *-e* (*ibid.*, § 193). That the same ending should be *-ī* in the text of the Chummās may be attributed to the fact that for speakers of Kashmiri both *e* and *ī* are pronounced as the latter (*ibid.*, § 20), which has led to the two vowels being confused in Kashmirian manuscripts, as, for example, in *Kalādikṣāvidhi*, f. 226r14–v1, where we see *śrīdekṣādevīm* for *śrīdikṣādevīm* (see footnote 71 on p. 257).

³⁵⁶*Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 2r1–3: [...ta]ddr̥kpātamahodayāt | bhūmau saṃpatitaḥ kṣiprāc chinnamūla iva drumah | 2 niruttaropamā bhūmir bāhyāntaḥkaraṇojjhita | ap[r]ameyā nī[r̥]tanikā *kālākālakalottarā (kālākāla corr. : kālākāla Cod.) | 3 adhāmadbhānavibhavā nirniketākramākramā | asparśaparamānandacamatkāraughanirbharā | 4 nirānandā nirāveśā sadasadbhramavarjitā | *nirvikalpāvikalpā (conj. : nirvikalpavikalpā Cod.) tu saṃvidujjhita-dharminī | 5 prāptā mayā jhagity eva vāsanā[n̄ja]navarjī[tā].

³⁵⁷*Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 2r4–7: tatraiva bahukālaṃ tu sthito 'haṃ nīścalākṛtiḥ | 6 akasmāt tu prabuddho 'smi tatprasādavaśān manāk | apūrvasaṃvidāhlādacamatkāreṇa ghūrṇitaḥ | 7 sthito 'haṃ vismayāviṣṭo nityānandena nanditaḥ | śāstraprapaṇcavimukho gatāhampratyayo yadā | 8 tadā mayā siddhanāthaḥ saṃpr̥ṣṭaḥ pustakānvitaḥ | 'yā kācid bhūr mayā nātha durgamā tvatprasādāt | 9 anubhūtā nirātānikā tām yathā sarvato 'bhitaḥ | saṃlakṣayāmi satatam tathā kathaya me prabho.

In that state I remained unwavering for a long time. Then, unexpectedly, by his favour, I came round somewhat. I was reeling from the rapturous experience of the bliss of that extraordinary consciousness, filled with wonder, ecstatic with the eternal joy [of my awakening], now averse to the elaborations of the Śāstras and freed from all sense of self. Then I addressed a question to the Siddha Lord (Siddhanātha) [who was standing there] with a manuscript [in his hand], saying “Tell me, my master, my lord, how I may perceive at all times, completely, on all sides, the unprecedented, defectless level so hard to reach that I have experienced by your favour”.

The Siddha remains silent, but casts into the sky a glance which causes the essence of speech to emerge from the highest void and take form as Aṭavīla.³⁵⁸

Then that great-souled one, who remained completely silent, cast a glance brimming with the non-sequential into the depths of the sky and through its power the unlocated, transcendental Word that is one with Śiva, that transcends the [levels of] its immanence [from Paśyanti, through Madhyamā] to audible speech, came forth from the highest void. It is this that we mean by the Bhairavī whose nature is unlocated. It has also been called Aṭavīla, the supreme being who embodies the eternally manifest void, who embodies fusion with the radiances of that most extraordinary consciousness, because at that very moment it bestows (-la) permanently and in non-duality the supreme wilderness (aṭavī-) beyond the [three] lights that is one with that Bhairavī, free of all obscurations.

Aṭavīla³⁵⁹ points to a manuscript that the Siddha is showing in his hand and explains that the two boards that enclose it are the two breaths and the two

³⁵⁸ *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 2r7–v1: 10 *mahātmanā tadā tena maunasthena viśeṣataḥ* | *ūrdhve vyomni yataḥ kṣiptaḥ dr̥ṣṭir akramanirbharā* | 11 *tadadhiṣṭhānatas tasmāt parākāśāt samutthitā* | *śivasyābhinnarūpā tu parā vāg aniketanā* | 12 **vaikharyantakulottīrṇā* (conj. : *vaikharyantā kulottīrṇā* Cod.) *samastāśrayavarjitā* | *bhairavī saiva vikhyātā nirniketasvarūpiṇī* | 13 **tadaiva* (conj. : *tadaivai* Cod.) *bhairavī*rūpam* (corr. : *rūpam* Cod.) *nirdhāmaparamāṭavīm* | *sarvāvarāṇanirmuktā(m) lāti nityam abhedataḥ* | 14 *aṭavīlas samā-khyāto nityoditakhamūrtibhṛt* | *apūrvataracidbhābhis sāmā[ra]syavapuḥ paraḥ*.

³⁵⁹ I surmise that the origin of this unusual name is a narrative in which Aṭavīla was a Siddha who had assumed the appearance of a member of a forest (aṭavī) tribe. Such a narrative is seen in the Krama in the case of Vidyānanda, the disciple of Niṣkriyānanda, who is described in the **Uttaragharāmnāya* section of the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* as *śābararūpadhṛk* ‘having the appearance of a Śābara’ (7.182–83 given in footnote 63 on p. 254). The same is reported of the Siddha Lokeśvara in the literature of the Buddhist Yoginītantras. He is said to have assumed the appearance of a Śābara (*śābararūpadhārīṇā*) while practising the Sādhana of Vidyādhārī-Vajrayoginī (*Guhyasamayamālā*, f. 87r1–v6). Śābara (Aṭavīśābara [*Mahābhārata* 6.10.46c]), Pulinda, and Bhilla, are the usual names applied to such tribal people in Sanskrit literature, where they are portrayed as fierce dark-skinned hunters living in the mountainous and forested region of the Vindhya who plunder passing travellers and propitiate the goddess

aspects of the Goddess, transcendent (*kr̥ṣā*) and immanent (*pūrṇā*), and that he must tear these two asunder and behold the ultimate void (*mahāśūnyātīśūnyam*) that lies between them as his real nature.³⁶⁰

Then [Aṭavīla] deriding me said, “Why are you so proud? What is [the value of] this snare of learning? Still you have not shaken off your delusion. Behold this manuscript in the hand of Siddhanātha. O you who have mastered the Krama, know that its tightly bound five-hood [knot] is the power embodied in the five sense-faculties and that its two encircling rings are waking and dreaming. Learn in brief the nature of these its two boards. The outgoing breath with its seven flames is held to be the upper, and the lower has the form of the incoming. Eternally I am truly present, O brahmin, as these two flows. The two boards are [also] known as the awakening of the sequences of immanence (*kulam*) and transcendence (*kaulam*) and as the two immersions that are the active and quiescent expansions. Above is the expansive power[, the full-bodied goddess] whose nature is extroversion. Below is this power of Śiva that devours[, the goddess] whose body is emaciated. Break open these two boards and through your awareness [alone] behold between them the great void beyond the void, that is free of both the transient and the eternal, that is without sensation, the ultimate emptiness, unlocated, unsurpassed, transcending all, unmanifest, eternally present in everything, the destroyer of Emission, Stasis, Withdrawal, and

Durgā Vindhyavāsini with human sacrifices. The hypothesis that the name Aṭavīla points to another instance of this primitivist theme gains further support from the fact that Aḍabilla, which, given that MIA voices OIA medial *t̥* (Pkt. *adavi*), the common alternation of *v* and *b*, and the Law of Morae, is probably the same name, occurs with Śabara/Pulinda in *Tāntrāloka* 29.38 and the *Kulakṛīḍāvatāra* quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on that verse in a list of six Lodges (*gharam*), namely Śabara/Pulinda, Aḍabilla, Paṭṭila, Karabilla, Ambi/Ambilla, and Śarabilla, associated with the six sons of Macchanda and Koṅkaṇāmbā. These Lodges are followed by six Pallis. Palli is the standard term in Sanskrit for a Śabara settlement; see, e.g., *Kathāsaritsāgara* 1.2.135–137; 1.5.42; and 12.31.19.

³⁶⁰ *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 2v1–8: *provāca prahasan mām sa kimartham tvam samuddhataḥ | śāstrajālam idaṃ kiṃ syād bhrāntir nādyāpi te cyutā | 16 paśyemām pustikām vipra siddhanāthakarasthitām | asyāḥ pañcaphaṇo yas tu sthito dṛḍhanibandhanah | 17 pañcendriyamayīm śaktim viddhi *taṃ* (em. : *tām* A) *kramapārāga | valayau dvau sthita tau yau tu tau jāgratsvapnavigrahaḥ | 18 imau yau paṭṭakau dvau tu tau śṛṇusva samāsataḥ | ūrdhvapaṭṭakarūpas tu prā[ṇa]ḥ sap[ta]śikhaḥ smṛtaḥ | 19 adhahstha[ḥ] paṭṭako yas tu samsthito 'pānavigrahaḥ | pravāhadvayarūpo 'haṃ samsthito dviḥ tattvataḥ | 20 kulakaulakramonmeṣarūpau dvau pa[ṭṭa]kau smṛtau | udriktaśāntavisphārasamāveśamayau tv imau | 21 ūrdhvasthā pūrṇavibhavā śaktir unmeṣadharminī | adha[ḥ]sthā kṛśadeheyaṃ grāsini śaktir aiśvarī | 22 bhittvaitat paṭṭakayugam madh[ya]le paśya vimarśataḥ | mahāśūnyātīśūnyam tu kṣarākṣaravivarjitam | 23 asparśam paramākāśam nirniketaṃ niruttaram | sarv[o]ttirṇam anābhāsam sarvatrāvasthitaṃ sadā | 24 sṛṣṭisthityupasambhārakālagrāsāntakam param | sarvāvarāṇanirmuktaṃ svasvarūpam svagocaram.*

the [Nameless] devouring of time, supreme, free of all obscurations, the nature of the self, present in the self”.

This instruction pushes Niṣkriyānanda into the experience of the ultimate reality and frees him once and for all from the ‘snare of the Śāstras’ that had held him in bondage. The Siddha then pronounces him fit to receive the oral instruction and transmits the Chummās to him. Niṣkriyānandanātha undertakes to explain them to his pupil, declaring that by the Siddha’s favour they enabled him to achieve liberation through forcible immersion in the state of sudden enlightenment (*sāhasam padam*);³⁶¹

Thus in an instant I experienced directly the most transcendent reality [and] abandoned altogether the snare of learning in its entirety. The wise Siddhanātha, who [likewise] had let go of all the elaborations of Śāstric knowledge, looked at me and said ..., “My son with excellent understanding, you are [now] worthy to enter this inaccessible Great Krama”. With this, being filled with compassion, the Lord made me understand completely the wondrous teaching of the Chummās with the full expanse of the *saṃketapadāni* that is hard to grasp [even] for the greatest of meditators. As a result I suddenly ascended to the great unfettered, eternal domain of sudden enlightenment, in the state of one who is fully awakened. In the same way I shall explain to you fully the unique, most extraordinary, indefinable [knowledge] that I have attained by Siddhanātha’s favour in that wondrous reality. You have *wandered to (*conj.*) every Pīṭha³⁶² constantly established in *Brahman (*conj.*). [Yet] still you have not achieved

³⁶¹ *Chummāsasaṃketaprakāśa*, ff. 2v8–3r6: *itthaṃ parataraṃ tattvaṃ sāksāt kṛtya mayākramāt | tyaktaṃ sarvaṃ aśeṣeṇa śāstrajālaṃ samantataḥ | 26 tyaktaśāstraprapaṇcena siddhanāthena dhīmatā | dṛṣṭas tu tat kṣaṇāt tena [..... bhā]ṣitaḥ | 27 yogyas tvaṃ sanmate putra durgame ’min mahākrame | ity uktvā kṛpayāviṣṭo bodhayām āsa māṃ prabhuh | 28 kiṃci[c] chummopadeśaṃ tu saṃketapadavistaram | durbodhaṃ tu mahāyogipravarāṇāṃ samantataḥ | 29 yatas tasmān mahoddāma sāhasam padam acyutaṃ | samāruhya haṭhād asmi suprabuddhadaśānvitaḥ | 30 itthaṃ apy adbhute tattve siddhanāthaprasādataḥ | prāptaṃ *mayā (conj. : tvayā Cod.) anirdeśyaṃ vikalpaughavilāpakam | 31 yad apūrvataraṃ kiṃcit tat te vaksyāmy aśeṣataḥ | bhrānto (conj. : bhakto) ’si sarvapīṭheṣu *brahmaṇy avasthitaḥ (conj. : brahmaṇyevasthitaḥ Cod.) sadā | 32 tvayādyāpi na viśrāntiḥ samyag *āsāditā parā | saṃdigdhāṃ matim āśṛitya kiṃ paryāṣi putraka | 33 yogyas tvaṃ parame jñāne yatas tasmād alaṃ bhava | pravaksyāmi mukhāmnāyaṃ yathā prāptaṃ yathākramam | 34 darśanāmnāyamelāpavarjitaṃ satatoditaṃ | pūjyapūjakasambandhaprojjhitaṃ paratattvataḥ | 35 ekāgramanasonmeṣavimarśeṇa mahāmate rahasyapadavistāraṃ vijñeyaṃ vitataṃ śṛṇu.*

³⁶² The manuscript reads *bhaktosarvapīṭheṣu* ‘You are devoted to all the Pīṭhas’. I find this suspect, since it is not the Pīṭhas themselves that are the object of devotion but the Goddesses and Yoginīs located in them. I have conjectured *bhrānto ’si sarvapīṭheṣu* ‘You have wandered to every Pīṭha’, because wandering is the action most appropriate in this context and because immediately after this statement Niṣkriyānanda will be told that there is no need for him to continue

perfect rest. Why continue to roam with confused mind, my disciple? You are now fit for the highest wisdom. So cease. I shall teach you in due order the oral transmission that is beyond of the schools of philosophy, the [Śakta] Āmnāyas, and [even] the Melāpa [doctrine],³⁶³ ever active, in ultimate truth void

to wander. For this wandering in the Pīṭhas, that is to say, from Pīṭha to Pīṭha, see *Tantrāloka* 29.40: *iti samketābhijño bhramate pīṭheṣu yadi sa siddhīpsuḥ | acirāl labhate tat tat prāpyaṃ yad yoginivadanāt* 'If knowing these conventions he wanders about the Pīṭhas in quest of Siddhi he soon attains from the lips of the Yoginīs whatever goal he seeks'; and *Timirodghāṭana*, f. 36v3–4: *bahudeśagatā kaści kṣetrapīṭhāni paryate | varṣe dvādaśavarṣe [e vā yogi]nī naiva paśyati | susaṃskṛto 'pi deveśi bahugranthārtahapaṇḍitaḥ | bhrame pīṭhopapīṭhāni akṛtārtho nivartate* 'A person may wander to the Kṣetras and Pīṭhas in many lands, [but] in a year or [even] twelve see no* Yoginī (*conj.*). Even though correctly initiated and well-versed in the meaning of many texts he may wander to the Pīṭhas and Upapīṭhas and return without his purpose achieved'. I have not corrected *kaści* to *kaścit*, *paryate* to *paryateṭ*, or *bhrame* to *bhramet* in this passage of the *Timirodghāṭana* because cases in which final *t* is treated as though it were silent for the purpose of Sandhi are not uncommon in the register of Sanskrit evidenced in non-Saiddhāntika scriptural texts, as, for example, in the *Brahmayāmala*, f. 194v1: *śodhaye 'dhvānam* (for *śodhayed adhvānam*); *nyase 'tmānam* (for *nyased ātmānam*).

³⁶³The Āmnāyas referred to here are the Śakta Āmnāyas of the Four Directions (Pūrvāmnāya, Paścimāmnāya, Dakṣiṇāmnāya, and Uttarāmnāya). The term Melāpa, denoting the highest of the levels of knowledge to be transcended, lying beyond even the Uttarāmnāya (the Kālikula), denotes the teachings of the Krama [as opposed to those of the oral instructions]. We find the Krama referred to as the Melāpa doctrine in the *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa* (Triv.), 9.63: **melāpadarśane* (corr. : *melāvadārśane* Ed.) *hy atra pratyakṣajñānagocare*. For this hierarchy up to the Krama see the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa* on 1.5a (*paryantāna pari paryanti ... *akku* [Cod. : *akka* Ed.] *mahāthu jayi aniketū* 'The unique, unlocated Mahārtha ... reigns supreme within the highest limit of the limits'): *paryantavartinām āmnāyānām yaḥ para utkrṣṭaḥ uttarāmnāyaḥ tato 'pi *pañcatrīṃśabhedabhinnād* (*pañca conj. : ṣaṭ Ed.*) *yaḥ paryantaḥ prāntavartī navacakrasaṃpradāyaḥ so 'yaṃ mahārthaḥ* 'The Uttarāmnāya, divided into thirty-five elements, is the highest [of the limits, i.e.] the foremost of the Āmnāyas that are at the limit [of knowledge]. The limit beyond even that, located at the very summit, is the Mahārtha, this tradition of [the Krama with] the nine circles [that constitute the phases of worship]'. I have ventured to emend the edition's *ṣaṭtrīṃśa*- 'thirty-six' to *pañcatrīṃśa*- 'thirty-five' because in the *Devīvyardhaśatikā* the goddess begins her request for instruction by saying that she has already been taught the system of Kālī worship that has thirty-five divisions (f. 2r3 [v. 8cd]: *pañcatrīṃśatibhedena kālibhedam mayā śrutam*) and because Vimalaprabodha presents his *Kālikulakramārcana* as teaching the same on the basis of the [lost] *Pañcacāmarāśekhara* (f. 1v4): *saṃvīksya vidhivaj jñātvā pañcacāmarāśekharam | pañcatrīṃśatibhedādhyam vaksye śrīkālīkārcanam*. The reading in the *Devīvyardhaśatikā* MS is *pañcaviṃśati*- rather than *pañcatrīṃśati*-. But I have emended it to the latter because it is *pañcatrīṃśati*- that is given in this verse as it appears in the same passage in the *Yonigahvara* (f. 2r3 [v. 10cd]) and, with a redactional variant, in *Kālikākrama* (f. 179v2 [v. 2ab]: *pañcatrīṃśatibhedena kālikulam mayā śrutam*). The corruption *ṣaṭtrīṃśa*- of *pañcatrīṃśa*- in the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa* is readily explained as an

of the relation of worshipped and worshipper, just as I myself received it [from Siddhanātha]. Wise one, learn with one-pointed mind by virtue of awareness of the vibrant openness [of your consciousness], the full expanse of the secret [Chummā]padas.

The Chummās with their commentary follow.

*The *Trimśaccarcārahasya (Prākṛtatrimśikā) attributed to the Pīṭheśvarīs*

The *Chummāsamketaprakāśa* also contains dispersed within it according to context but without gloss or commentary thirty verses in Old Kashmiri, which it claims to be songs transmitted by the Pīṭheśvarīs [of Uḍḍiyāna] to supplement the instructions in the Chummās. It calls them Kathās (Oral Explanations) or Carcās (Meditations):³⁶⁴

Victory to the miraculous (*ko 'pi*) unborn, ever-manifest glory of the Carcā songs (*gīticarcā*) that have come from the lips of the Pīṭheśvarīs. For it culminates in the non-sequential [ground] through the sequence of worship, instruction, and transmission, leading to the void of unsurpassed awareness, transcending the relation of words and their meanings.³⁶⁵ This incomparable instruction that has come forth directly from the source now shines in its fullness forever through the supreme collection of one hundred and five [Chummā]padas given here supplemented by the esoteric teaching of the thirty Carcās (*Trimśaccarcārahasya*). It opens up with full intensity in the awareness of the great [only] through oral transmission.

The title *Trimśaccarcārahasya* has been adopted for convenience from this passage.³⁶⁶ However, it is probable that it is this work that is referred to

unconscious substitution of the much more familiar number of the Śaiva Tattvas.

³⁶⁴*Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 13r7–10 (vv. 216–219): *pūjāsamkrāmakathanakramenākrama- [tat]parah | pīṭheśvarīmukhāyātāgīticarcāmahodayah | 217 ko 'py anuttaracidvyomaprāpakah satatoditah | vācyavācakasambandhanirmukto jayatād ajah | 218 pañcādhikaśateneha padaughoh yah sthītah parah | trimśaccarcārahasyena nirbharas tena sarvadā | 219 carceyaṃ bhāti nitarāṃ samyaggarbhāgatāsamā | vaktṛādvaktṛakrameṇocais satāṃ hr̥di vijṛmbhate.*

³⁶⁵Their origin from the Yoginīs of Uḍḍiyāna is also conveyed by the last of the thirty, the *Gītikathā*, f. 13v1–2: **yith āgatu* (conj. : *pīṭhāgatu* Cod.) **pīṭhesari* (em. : *peṭhisari* Cod.) *vadanā | gītikathā kamukta ṭesa jha lakku † | anubhaveti nirupamacissadanā | samkāmādi*kamā* (conj. : *kurāu* Cod.) *avikampu*. The meaning of the whole verse is not apparent to me. But this much is probable: ‘...the *Gītikathā* *taught in the Krama (?), came *hither (conj.) from the mouths of the Pīṭheśvarīs *after they had experienced [it] (?) from the domain of incomparable consciousness through the process of [worship, instruction,] and transmission’.

³⁶⁶It is also that given on the outer cover of the Berlin manuscript of the *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*.

by Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya I in his *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti* under the title *Prākṛtatrimśikā* 'The Thirty [Verses] in the Vernacular'. For that is a text on the Krama, since he directs his readers to a commentary on it by Bhaṭṭāraka (*Prākṛtatrimśikāvivarāṇa*) for its multiple analyses of the Krama's circle of the Multitude (*vṛndacakram*);³⁶⁷ and there is a Kathā among the thirty in the *Chummāsamketaparakāśa* that would accommodate such analysis:³⁶⁸

Vṛndakathā:

Just as in the external world the stars together with the moon and sun shine eternally, so the pure mass of the rays (*raśmivṛndaḥ*) [of the *vṛndacakram*] expands in the domain of the sensationless void of consciousness.

If a manuscript of this work should come to light it will be welcome not only for its subject matter but also for the light it might shed on Old Kashmiri, at present poorly understood.

The Vātūlanāthasūtra and its Commentary

Closely related in content to the Old Kashmiri verses transmitted in the *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, but written in Sanskrit, is the published *Vātūlanāthasūtra*, which has come down to us with a commentary of unknown date attributed to one Anantaśakti in its final colophon,³⁶⁹ though in the text itself the author avoids stating his name, referring to himself in both the introductory and concluding verses merely as "someone", an authorial convention seen elsewhere in this literature and no doubt intended to express the position that those who articulate the truth of the Krama's sudden enlightenment are like that truth itself devoid of social identity.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 68, ll. 11–12: *vṛndacakranirṇayas tu babudhā bhaṭṭārakakṛta-prākṛtatrimśikāvivarāṇe vicāryaḥ*.

³⁶⁸ *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 3v, after v. 41: *bahi yākhiti rāji niccu gagani | tāṛācayū śāśidinakarayutta | tākhiti aparīśacinnabhasadani | *vikasi (conj. : vikaci) rasmi*vindu (corr. bindu Cod.) achutta | vṛndakathā (= Skt. bahir yathā rājate nityaṁ gagane tāṛācayaḥ śāśidinakarayutaḥ tathā asparśacinnabhaḥsadane vikasati raśmivṛndo nirmalaḥ)*.

³⁶⁹ *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 19, ll. 8–9: *samāpteyaṁ śrīmadvātūlanāthasūtravṛtṭiḥ. kṛtīḥ śrīmadanantaśaktipādānām*. The commentary by an Anantaśakti on the *Bahurūpagarbhastotra* is probably not by the author of the *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*. Its phraseology and style are quite different and there is only one place at which it offers an interpretation in terms of the Krama (f. 13r, glossing *tridaśapūjyāya*: *śrīmaddarśane dvādaśottīrṇadevīdhāmarūpatrayodaśaparamarūpatvena pūjya ity arthaḥ* "The meaning of *tridaśapūjya*- in *tridaśapūjyāya* is 'to be worshipped as the highest, as the thirteenth, which is the ground of the Goddess beyond the twelve taught in the venerable [Krama] doctrine'").

³⁷⁰ *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 1., v. 6: *yoginīvaktrasambhūtasūtrānām vṛttir uttamā | kenāpi kriyate samyak paratattvopabr̥ṃhitā* "Someone" will [now] write an excellent commentary

Thus “someone” who is free of the error of [believing in] the differentiation [manifest] in the expansion that is incarnate existence has correctly articulated the matchless, ultimate secret that transcends all words and concepts, through the process of the flashing forth of the sudden realization of the unconditioned ultimate Being as the result of the expansion of consciousness.³⁷¹

Each of its thirteen Sūtras conveys an esoteric teaching, which like the Old Kashmiri verses in the *Chummāsamketaparakāśa* is called indifferently a Kathā or Carcā; and all of these are among those covered in that text. Anantaśakti appears to know the work of Niṣkriyānandanātha. For commenting on the third Sūtra, which teaches the instruction on the manuscript with its two boards (*pustakakathā*), he says that he will explain the means of attaining the ultimate that the venerable Gandhamādanāsiddha taught Niṣkriyānandanātha by showing him the manuscript in his hand when he chose to favour him;³⁷² and he does so in terms that follow closely and further explain the details of the symbolism of the book and the separating of its boards set out in the verses of the *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*.³⁷³ That work refers to the Siddha who taught Niṣkriyānandanātha simply as Siddhanātha ‘The Siddha Lord’, but the name Gandhamādana reported by Anantaśakti may well have been taken from the absent opening verses of that work. As for the revelation of the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*, Anantaśakti at the beginning of his commentary relates that the Pīṭheśvarī first taught Vātūlanātha the Chummās (*chummāpadaughah*) and then these Sūtras.³⁷⁴

nourished by the highest reality on the Sūtras that have come forth from the lips of the Yoginīs’; p. 19, ll. 4–7: *iti paramarahasyam vāgvikalpaughamuktaṃ bhavavibhavavibhāgabhrāntimuktena samyak | kṛtam anupamam uccaiḥ kenacī cidvikāśād akalitaparasattāsāhasollāsavṛtṭyā*.

³⁷¹We see the same explicit anonymity in the *Bhāvopahārastotra* attributed to Cakrapāṇinātha by Ramyadeva (see here footnote 300 on p. 325: *kaś cit*), and in the anonymous *Kramavilāsastotra* (last verse: *ittham etad adhigamya kenacit*).

³⁷²*Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 4, ll. 4–6: *śrīmanniṣkriyānandanāthānugrahasamaye śrīmad-gandhamādanāsiddhapādair akṛtakapustakadarśanena yā parapade prāptir upadiṣṭā saiva vitatya nirūpyate* ‘I shall explain at length the attainment of the highest level that the venerable Gandhamādanāsiddha taught by showing the manuscript of truth on the occasion of his favouring the venerable Niṣkriyānandanātha’.

³⁷³Compare *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 4, ll. 7–20 with *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, vv. 16c–24 given above in footnote 360 on p. 342.

³⁷⁴*Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 2, ll. 1–7: *iha kila śaddarśanacaturāmnāyādimelāpaparyantasmastadarśanottirṇam akathyam api śrīmadvātūlanāthasya pīṭheśvaryāś *chummāpadaugham* (em. : *pīṭheśvaryā ucchuṣmapādaugham* Ed.) *uktvā tad anu paramarahasyopabṛmhitatrayodaśa-kathāsāṅkṣātkāradyā kramākramāstināstitathyātathyabhedābhedaśavikalpanirvikalpabhavanirvāṇakalāṅkojjhitam kim apy anavakāśam param tattvaṃ sūtramukhenādisanti*. I have emended the edition’s *pīṭheśvaryā ucchuṣmapādaugham* to *pīṭheśvaryāś chummāpadaugham* because

Here, according to tradition (*kila*), the Piṭheśvarī first taught the venerable Vātulanātha the collection of the Chummāpadas, though [in truth its teaching] cannot be taught, being beyond all doctrines, beginning with the six Darśanas³⁷⁵ and the four [Śākta] Āmnāyas and ending with the Melāpa, and then taught [him] through the Sūtras the extraordinary, highest reality into which nothing can enter, which is free of the stain of [the dualities of] sequence and simultaneity, existence and non-existence, the real and the unreal, plurality and unity, the conceptual and the non-conceptual, existence in the world and liberation, doing so by directly revealing to his experience the thirteen Kathās nourished by the ultimate secret.

At the end of his commentary he adds the detail that they revealed the oral tradition to Vātulanātha in the Sūtras at the time of their Great Assembly (*mahā-melāpaḥ*), an allusion to their gathering in the Karavīra cremation ground of Uḍḍiyāna for the worship of the Goddess, as taught at the beginning of the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*.³⁷⁶

The Kaulasūtra of Bhaṭṭaśrī Śitikaṇṭha

Also connected with the Kashmirian Krama's tradition of oral instruction is a collection of Sūtras composed by a certain Guru Bhaṭṭaśrī-Śitikaṇṭha. I have seen this only in a manuscript that prefaces the text with a remark by the copyist that his exemplar is fragmentary and that therefore what he is providing is only some of the Sūtras of this work, which is divided into two sections, the *Kaulasūtra* and the *Kulasūtra*.³⁷⁷ Among them are five that are versions of

ucchuṣmapāda could only be a person ('the venerable Ucchuṣma'), which would be nonsensical here, because the terms *chummāpada*- and *padaugha*- (= *chummāpadaugha*-) are seen in the *Chummāsaṃketaparakāśa*, and because the result is contextually appropriate.

³⁷⁵I surmise that the six Darśanas intended here are the Bauddha, Jaina, Vaidika, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, and Śaiva religious paths.

³⁷⁶*Vātulanāthasūtravṛtti* pp. 18, l. 17–19, l. 2: *ṣaḍdarśanacaturāmnāyamelāpa*⟨...⟩ **trayodaśa-kathāśākṣātkāropadeśabhaṅgyānuttarapadādvayatayā* (*trayodaśakathā* em. : *kathātrayodaśakathā* Ed.) *kasyacid avadhūtasya piṭheśvarībhir mahāmelāpasamaye sūtropanibaddho vaktrāmnāyaḥ prakāśitaḥ* 'The oral teaching ⟨*that is beyond (?)⟩ the six Darśanas, the four Śākta traditions, and the Melāpa, was put into Sūtra form and revealed in oneness with the unsurpassed goal by the Piṭheśvarī at the time of the Great Assembly to a certain sage who had transcended all mundane conventions (*avadhūtasya*) by teaching him to experience directly the [truth of the] thirteen Kathās'.

³⁷⁷*Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v1–2: *oṃ svasti prajābhyaḥ. oṃ śrīśārādā*devyai* (corr. : *dīvyai* Cod.). *atha kaulasūtrāntargatāni kānicit sūtrāṇi likhyante ādarśachinnabhinnatvāt*. The authorship is reported at the end of the manuscript, f. 5v6: *kṛtir gurubhaṭṭaśrīśitikaṇṭhasyeti śubham*.

Kathās or Chummās or the exegesis of these found in the *Vātulanāthasūtra* and the *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*:

The teaching concerning the manuscript is that of opening the two boards.³⁷⁸

Bhairava stands between the full-bodied and emaciated [forms of the] Goddess.³⁷⁹

The four goddesses Emission[, Stasis, Withdrawal,] and [the Nameless], who are Hunger[, thirst, envy, and thought], constantly delight their Lord as though with sanguinary sacrifice by offering up themselves to him.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v7: *paṭṭakodghāṭanam pustakopadeśaḥ*; cf. *Vātulanāthasūtra* 3: *ubhaya-paṭṭodghaṭṭanān mahāśūnyatāpraveśaḥ*; *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 2v6–7, v. 22: *bhittvaitat paṭṭakayugam ma[dhye] paśya vimarśataḥ | mahāśūnyātiśūnyam tu kṣarākṣaravivarjitam*; the Manuscript Kathā (*pustakakathā*) *ibid.*, f. 3r6–7: ...*kulakaulikapuṭayugmu *vidāra* (em. : *vicāra* Cod.) | ...*paśu majji śūnyata avikāra* ‘...Break apart the two boards that are the Kula and the Kaulika ...behold the unchanging void between [them]’.

³⁷⁹ *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v8: *pūrṇakṛṣāmadhyago bhairavaḥ*. Cf. *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 7v5, v. 105 (on Chummā 40 [f. 7v4–5]: *pūrṇa kiśi* ‘[She is] full-bodied [and] emaciated’): *itthaṃ pūrṇasvarūpāpi mahāgrāsaikaghasmarā | sarvottirṇaviyadvṛttim atyajanti kṛṣā smṛtā* ‘In this way she is full[-bodied] by nature. But being altogether gluttonous in her Great Devouring she is nonetheless said to be emaciated, since [even as she devours all things] she never surrenders her mode of existence as the all-transcending void’; and f. 2v3–6 (vv. 18c–21): *ūrdhva-paṭṭakarūpas tu prā[ṇa]ḥ sap[ta]śikhaḥ smṛtaḥ | 19 adhaḥsthapatṭako yas tu samsthito ‘pānavi-grahaḥ | pravāhadvayarūpo ‘haṃ samsthito dvija tattvataḥ | 20 kulakaulakramonmeśarūpau dvau pa[ṭṭa]kau smṛtau | udriktāśāntavisphārasamāveśamayau tv imau | 21 ūrdhvasthā pūrṇavibhavā śaktir unmeśadharminī | adhaḥsthā kṛṣadeheyam grāsinī śaktir aiśvarī* ‘The outgoing breath with its seven flames is the upper board and the lower board is the ingoing. In reality, O brahmin, I am present as both these flows. The two boards represent the manifestation of the Kula and Kaula phases. They are the [two] states of immersion, that in which the extroversion of consciousness is active and that in which it has ceased. Above [as the upper board] is the fully-expanded Power, whose nature is extroversion. Below is the devouring Śakti of the Lord, her body emaciated’. The Sūtra also alludes to the practice taught in *Netra* 18.120 of installing a Bhairava flanked by a full-bodied and an emaciated Śakti to mark the site of a cremation; see SANDERSON 2005b, p. 267, footnote 92.

³⁸⁰ *Kaulasūtra*, f. 2r7–8: *prīṇayanti catasraḥ sṛṣṭidevīprabhṛtayaḥ kṣudhādya *balibhir iva* (conj. : *iva balibhiḥ* Cod.) **patim satatam* (conj. : *patisaṃtataḥ* Cod.) *svātmasamarpanena*; cf. *Vātulanāthasūtra* 9: *devīcatuṣṭayollāśena sadaiva svaviśrāntyavasthitiḥ*; Anantaśakti’s commentary: *devīcatuṣṭayam kṣutṛḍīrṣyāmananākhyam*; the Kathā of the Four Goddesses (*devīcatuṣṭaya-kathā*) in *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 7r7–8: *manana īśa tiśa kṣuta āgūriti paramākāśapadi thiti-kitti | vittiprapaṅcu *akame* (conj. : *akāme* Cod.) *pūriti bhuji nira(va)kāśu avitti* ‘Thought, envy, thirst, and hunger, longing to be established in the domain of the highest void, having simultaneously satisfied themselves with all the diverse manifestations of cognition, relish the lacuna-less [consciousness] beyond cognition’; *Rājikā* qu. in the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaparakāśa*, p. 55, ll. 5–8: *bhuktva viśvam aśeṣam tṛptim na yadā gataḥ kuleśānaḥ |*

The essence of the self is made manifest by removing the three shrouds.³⁸¹

When the twelve rays unite without force the confidence of their leader dissolves. [This] one [among the twelve therefore] disappears. So there is a breaking of the circle caused by a deficiency in [their] discipline.³⁸²

And there are others that are Kathā-like and bear on the Krama but have no direct parallels in those works:

There is but one Guru, the uninterrupted transmission of the rays [of enlightened consciousness] that have come to us through the initiatory lineage (*ovallih*).³⁸³

The [Goddess] that rules the wheels [of powers] emerges there from within, intoxicated by drinking the juice of the six elements [of the body].³⁸⁴

The one true oral instruction is the revelation of the highest reality.³⁸⁵

The teaching of the Krama is the sequence of states, namely that consciousness, flowing eternal like a river, manifests four states [in every cognition]: Emission, [Stasis, Withdrawal] and [the Nameless].³⁸⁶

In two introductory verses the author first praises the sage Durvāsas as the incarnation of Rudra (*rudrāvatārah*) and as the guiding light of this tradition,

devyā tadā svadehaś carur atra niveditaḥ kulādhipateḥ.

³⁸¹ *Kaulasūtra*, f. 3r7: *kañcukatritayāpavarjanāt svarūpāviṣkārah*; cf. *Vātūlanāthasūtra* 6: *tri-kañcukaparityāgān nirākhyapadāvasthitih*; *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 6r6: *bhūtabhāvanakañcukavilaye apāri anākhyā *gagani* (em. : *gamani* Cod.) *viśāmu* 'When the shrouds of the gross elements, subtle elements, and negation have dissolved there is rest in the limitless void of the Nameless'.

³⁸² *Kaulasūtra*, f. 3v1–2: *dvādaśamaricīnām priyamelāpe nāyakāvaṣṭambhavicutyutir ekāpāyāt samayalopajā cakraḥkhaṇḍanā*; cf. the *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*'s Kathā of the Incomplete Circle (*khaṇḍacakraḥkathā*), f. 5v1–2: *pasari *pasari* (conj. : *pamari* Cod.) *militi *ciccakkasa* (conj. : *miścakkasa* Cod.) *mañja bhuñjiti niju upabhogu | ye pallatīa samvitti athakka fma yaṭṭhijyo khaṇḍamarici *mahogu* (conj. : *sahogu* Cod.) 'The Mahaugha of the rays of the Khaṇḍa[cakra] comes about when after uniting within the cycle of consciousness in each flow [of cognition] and relishing their respective fields of experience they revert and so eliminate one †...† [of their number]'.

³⁸³ *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v4 (the first Sūtra): *avicchinnaṃ ovallikramāyātamaricisamkrāmaṇam evaiko guruḥ.*

³⁸⁴ *Kaulasūtra*, f. 1v7–8, following on the instruction on the opening of the boards of the manuscript: *tatra ṣaḍdhāturasapānamattāntas cakreśvarī vijrṃbhate.*

³⁸⁵ *Kaulasūtra*, f. 2v8: *paratattvasākṣātkāra evaikā vāstavi kathā.*

³⁸⁶ *Kaulasūtra*, f. 3v8–9: *cito nadīvat pravāhanityāyās catasrah sṛṣṭyādidaśā iti daśākramah kra-mārthah.*

and then explains that he is putting into Sūtra form both the Kaula teaching composed by Mauninātha and other disciples of Śrīnātha and the Kula teaching that was first revealed to Durvāsas as Niṣkriya (Niṣkriyānandanātha) and then studied and propagated by Unmattanātha.³⁸⁷ The Kula teaching is no doubt that of the *Chummāsamketaprakāśa* and the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*. The former does indeed make Niṣkriyānandanātha an incarnation of sage Durvāsas,³⁸⁸ as does the **Uttaragharāmnāya*, since it refers to Niṣkriyānandanātha as Krodharāja ‘the King of Wrath’³⁸⁹ and Durvāsas’ irascible nature is the salient characteristic of his mythology.³⁹⁰ Moreover, it is probable that Bhaṭṭasrī-Śitikaṇṭha’s Unmattanātha is none other than Vātūlanātha under a synonym, both *unmatta-* and *vātūla-* meaning ‘mad’. The identity of the Kaula teaching of Mauninātha and the other disciples of Śrīnātha is unknown to me. But it too is evidently in the same tradition of oral instruction, since the author refers to it as ‘beyond the six philosophical systems’, a distinctive characterization that is also seen in the *Chummāsamketaprakāśa* and the commentary on the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*.³⁹¹ Since the name Mauninātha means ‘the Silent Nātha’ it is possible that Bhaṭṭasrī Śitikaṇṭha is referring to the Siddhanātha who initiated Niṣkriyānandanātha according to the frame-story of the *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*. For the salient feature of the latter’s account of that initiation is that Siddhanātha remained silent when questioned.

³⁸⁷ *Kaulasūtra* 1v2–4: OM ṣaḍdarśanātirikte ’rthe sūtradhārābhuvam śritah | rudrāvatāro durvāsah stūyate ’sparsakāmasūh | *yac chrīnāthamukhārāvinadamadhupāh (yac chrī em. : yas śrī Cod.) śrīmaunināthādayah ṣaḍdarśanyatiśāyīśāsanavaram sambadhnire kaulikam | yad durvāsasi niṣkriye prathitam apy unmattanāthah kulam samcarcy*āvir abhāvayat (conj. : + + vabhāvayat Cod.) tad ubhayam sūtrair mayā badhyate.

³⁸⁸ *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 13v5–6, vv. 222c–223: yah sa eva purāham tu durvāsā nāma viśrutah | yah prāk prāptamahājñānah siddhanāthaprasādatah | sa evāham tu samjāto niṣkriyo vīgatasprah.

³⁸⁹ See above, footnote 63 on p. 254.

³⁹⁰ E.g. *Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 2, f. 2r–v: rudrāmsū(h) krodhanas tikṣṇo durvāsā(h) siddha-pūjital; *Mahābhārata* 7.10.9ab: durvāsā nāma vipraśis tathā paramakopana; 15.38.2: tapasvī kopano vipro durvāsā nāma. In Śākta Śaiva texts he is commonly referred to as Krodhamuni; see, e.g. *Uttarāmnāyayajñākrama* f. 18v: HRĪM ŚRĪM KHPHREM VĪRANĀTHĀYA SVĀHĀ HRĪM ŚRĪM KHPHREM DAŚAKAṆṬHĀYA 2 HRĪM ŚRĪM KHPHREM KRODHAMUNINĀTHĀ(YA) 2; *Manthāna-bhairava*, *Siddhakhaṇḍa*, f. 467v3: iti krodhamuniviracitam mahādaṇḍakam samāptam; Vidyānanda, *Nityāṣoḍaśikāṇṇavārtharatnāvalī*, p. 222, l. 18–19: śrīmatkrodhamunibhaṭṭāraka iti śrī-maddurvāsasa evābhidhānam.

³⁹¹ *Chummāsamketaprakāśa*, f. 3r, 32c–33b: pravakṣyāmi mukhāmnāyam yathā prāptam yathā-kramam | darśanāmnāyamelāpavarjitam satatoditam; *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, p. 2, ll. 1–7: ṣaḍdarśanacaturāmnāyādimelāpaparyantasamastadarśanottīrṇam.

The dates of the oral instruction texts

The dates of these texts are obscure. The author of the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* quotes a passage with Krama content from a *Kulasūtra*,³⁹² and this is probably the work of Bhaṭṭaśrī-Śitikaṇṭha.³⁹³ For though the Sūtra quoted does not appear in the text as known to me, that text is incomplete and the Sūtra is similar in style and content to others therein.³⁹⁴

As for the dates of the texts on the Chummās and the Kathās, they themselves contain no quotations and the only quotations of them known to me are of the *Chummāsamketaparakāśa* in the *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti* of Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya I and the *Gāyatrīmantravivarāṇa* of Śiva[svāmin] Upādhyāya II. These are very late works. The former was written during the period 1754–1763, while Sukhajīvana was the Pathans' governor of Kashmir,³⁹⁵ and the latter during the period 1819–1839, while Kashmir was under the rule of Ranjit Singh of Lahore.³⁹⁶

³⁹²Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 60, ll. 7–9: *kulapīṭhakṣetrādivarṇapañcapīṇḍapraṇava-vyapadeśyam akhilābhāskarūpāyā ahaṃbhāvābhīmatasamvidah samāśrayabhūtam ātmāyatanam śarīram* 'The body, termed *kulam*, the Pīṭha, the holy site, the first letter (A), the Pañcapīṇḍa (KHPHREM), and Praṇava (OM), is the temple of the self, being the support of the awareness, identified with I-consciousness, whose nature is that it manifests all [that appears to it]'. For the Krama's correlation of the body with A, KHPHREM, and OM see Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* 2.5–6, 4.2, and the commentary on 5.1; also *Mahānayaprakāśa* (Triv.) 9.64.

³⁹³I see no reason to identify Bhaṭṭaśrī-Śitikaṇṭha with the author of the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*. RASTOGI (1979, p. 220–221) takes this identity for granted, guided, it seems, by nothing more than their sharing a personal name. But this proves nothing. Moreover, when the author of the commentary on *Mahānayaprakāśa* has cited the *Kulasūtra* he has not attributed it, as we would expect him to do in accordance with convention if the author on whom he is commenting or he himself had written it, using such expressions as *yad uktam anenaiva* and *yad uktam mayaiva*.

³⁹⁴Cf., e.g., *Kaulasūtra*, f. 2v7–8: *āmukhāvabhāsamānam akhilam ahaṃbhāvāspadam vicārya-mānam na kiṃcid apy ahaṃbhāvaviśayaḥ* 'No locus of I-consciousness presented to [consciousness] remains, when contemplated, the object of that I-consciousness'; f. 5v1: *īdṛgdevatādhāre kule cāmuṇḍāyatanam mukham* 'In this body (*kule*) that is the abode of such deities, the mouth is the temple of Cāmuṇḍā'.

³⁹⁵See footnote 652 on p. 425.

³⁹⁶See footnote 653 on p. 425. The *Chummāsamketaparakāśa* is quoted but not named in the *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 67, ll. 20–23: *niṣkriyānandanāthas tu karāṅkiṇyā iti paṭhati yathā: karās trayodaśākārāḥ ...* (= vv. 99–100, except that the quotation has *nirālambam param varam* where the MS gives *nirālambam nirāmayam* [100d]). Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya II quotes the work by name in his *Gāyatrīmantravivarāṇa*, f. 17v: *yat kiṃcid vāgrūpaṃ kathāmātram saiva gāyatrī. vannaivihīna nirutaru *khassaru* (em. : *khasmarāṇa* Cod.) *jagasa mūlapakiti gāyatra* | *repha-

The Old Kashmiri Chummās and verse Kathās are also of unknown date. Their language alone, as we have seen, does not imply that they were composed long after the major works of Kashmirian exegesis; nor does the absence of quotations before the eighteenth century imply that they and the *-saṃketaparakāśa* were composed close to that time, since we have an insufficient body of works from the preceding centuries in which absence of evidence might amount to evidence of absence.³⁹⁷ We can discern at least that their tradition is older than the author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaṃprakāśa*, since its unknown author reports that he or possibly another had explained the Chummās (*saṃketāḥ*) in another work. It is conceivable that the sets of these known to him were distinct from those that have survived. However, the one example that he cites is indeed found in the collection given by Niṣkriyānandanātha. For he refers to the Chummās as ‘*dr̥ṣṭanaṣṭa-* and others’ (*dr̥ṣṭanaṣṭādi-*),³⁹⁸ and this is evidently the aphorism that appears as the last of the hundred and five in the *Chummāsaṃketaparakāśa* in the form *ditto nitto* (Skt. *dr̥ṣṭam naṣṭam*),³⁹⁹ which Niṣkriyānanda explains as meaning ‘As soon as [the differentiated world is] perceived it disappears’.⁴⁰⁰ Moreover, the same aphorism is surely alluded to in a verse from a hymn by a certain Rāma quoted by Rājānaka Rāma in his *Spandavivṛti* and, in a Krama context, by Abhinavagupta’s pupil Kṣemarāja in his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*.⁴⁰¹

takārahakāravikassaru (repha em. : reka Cod. • vikassaru em. : vikasmaru Cod.) *vannacitra ciñceya vicitra iti chummāsaṃketaparakāśe* (Skt.: *varṇavibhīno niruttaraḥ khaṣvaro jagato mūla-prakṛtir gāyatrī. repḥatakārahakāravikasvaro varṇacitra *...[?] vicitraḥ*). The Old Kashmiri verse is Kathā 21 (*Chummāsaṃketaparakāśa*, f. 8v).

³⁹⁷ RASTOGI (1979, pp. 224–225) assigns Bhaṭṭāraka, Anantaśakti, and, by implication, Niṣkriyānandanātha to the period A.D. 1700–1750. His reasoning, as far as one can detect it, is spurious. It appears to be that the works of Niṣkriyānandanātha and Bhaṭṭāraka must be of late origin because only Śivopādhyāya has mentioned them, and that Anantaśakti must belong to the same period because his and Niṣkriyānandanātha’s works have similar contents. The precision of the period assigned is reached by subtracting 25 years (one generation) from the date of Śivopādhyāya.

³⁹⁸ *Mahānayaṃprakāśa* (Triv.) 1.34abc: *dr̥ṣṭanaṣṭādisaṃketakathāmātrasya marma yat | tat pra-pañcitam anyatra*; 1.21cd: **dr̥ṣṭanaṣṭādisaṃketakathāmātrāt prakāśate* (*dr̥ṣṭanaṣṭādi* em. : *dr̥ṣṭā-dr̥ṣṭādi* Ed. • *mātrāt prakāśate* conj. : *mātrātra kāśate* Ed.).

³⁹⁹ *Chummāsaṃketaparakāśa*, f. 13r6: *ditto naṭto* (em. : *dibbo nibbo* Cod.). The reading of the manuscript is meaningless. The emendation proposed follows Niṣkriyānandanātha’s explanation in vv. 214–215b, for which see p. 339.

⁴⁰⁰ For his gloss on this Chummā see p. 339.

⁴⁰¹ *Spandavivṛti*, p. 135 (*yad uktam stotre*;) and *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* on 11, p. 25: (*yathoktam śrīrāmeṇa*;) *saṃādhivajreṇāpy anyair abhedyo bhedabhūdharaḥ | parāmṛṣṭas ca naṣṭas ca tvad-bhaktibalaśālibhiḥ*.

The mountain of differentiated reality that others have not split even with the thunderbolt of Yogic trance disappears as soon as it is perceived by those empowered by devotion to you.

Since Rājānaka Rāma was a pupil of Utpaladeva,⁴⁰² this indicates a posterior limit for some form at least of this aphoristic tradition around the middle of the tenth century.

ABHINAVAGUPTA'S WORKS ON THE KRAMA

Abhinavagupta composed a commentary (*-vivṛti*) entitled *Kramakeli* on Eraka's *Kramastotra*. No manuscript of this has come to light, in spite of claims that one exists or existed in a private collection in Srinagar.⁴⁰³ At present we have access only to a few quotations. The longest of these, given by Jayaratha in his *Tantrāloka-viveka*,⁴⁰⁴ is the source of the information given above that Śivānanda-nātha (Jñānanetra-nātha) transmitted his teaching to Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā, that these jointly initiated Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Eraka, and that the last was the author of the *Kramastotra* on which he is commenting. It also tells us that unlike Eraka, Govindarāja and Bhānuka abjured the

⁴⁰² *Spandavivṛti*, p. 169, ll. 5–7: *sadvidyāśarasivibhūṣaṇavarasphārotpaloccāśayaprotsarpat-paripakvabodhamadhupenedaṃ mayāgāyī yat | rāmeṇānupamapramodamadhuraṃ baddhā-vadhānasya tac chrotuḥ kasya na cetanasya tanute viśrāntim antaḥ parām* 'I, Rāma have sung this [song] sweet with incomparable joy after drinking the nectar of the mature understanding that flows forth from the exalted mind of Utpala, that emanation [of enlightened consciousness] that is the finest pearl in the ocean of Śiva's wisdom. On what conscious being who hears it with fixed attention will it not bestow the ultimate inner rest?'. I have translated *-paripakvabodhamadhupena* here as 'after drinking the nectar of the mature understanding'; but the word *madhupaḥ* 'nectar-drinker' is established by convention in the meaning 'bee'. This undermines the possibility that the author wishes only to tell us that he has studied the works of Utpala rather than sat at his feet; for the metaphor of the pupil as a bee drinking the nectar of his teacher's knowledge is too common for this choice of words to have been apt if the author were not Utpala's direct disciple. The final colophon too asserts this pupilage.

⁴⁰³ See RASTOGI 1979, p. 164, footnote 2, reporting that in 1963 Paṇḍit Dīnanāth Yach told him that a manuscript of the *Kramakeli* was in the possession of Somnāth Rāzdān of Purshyar, Habba Kadal, Srinagar, but that the latter declined even to show it.

⁴⁰⁴ *Tantrāloka-viveka* on 4.173ab, vol. 3, pp. 192, l. 4–193, l. 11, following the words *yad uktam tatraivānena yathā*. For this passage and a translation see footnotes 131 on p. 275, 133 on p. 276, and 405 on p. 355. Other citations or reports of its contents: *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa* p. 267, l. 5 (Ed. p. 236, ll. 13–14); Kṣemarāja, *Śivastotrāvalīvivṛti*, p. 159, ll. 16–18; *Tantrāloka-viveka* on 4.149, vol. 3, p. 162, ll. 6–7; and *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* pp. 100, l. 26–101, l. 7; p. 122, l. 22; p. 150, ll. 10–13; and p. 183, ll. 19–20.

quest for supernatural powers, devoting the rest of their lives to the instruction of disciples, that Govindarāja initiated a guru called Somānanda, who is evidently other than the famous author of the *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*, and that Bhānuka was the source of a lineage which passing through Ujjaṭa, Udbhaṭa, and a number of other unnamed teachers bestowed initiation on Abhinavagupta himself.⁴⁰⁵

Although little of this work has survived one striking feature of it emerges from Jayaratha's commentary on the *Tantrāloka*. The *Kramastotra* taught that there were thirteen Kālīs in the phase of the Nameless, and this is in accordance with what we see in the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*, the *Kālikāstotra* of Jñānānetranātha, and the three texts with the title *Mahānayaprakāśa*, indeed in all the works considered here except the *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, which stands apart by teaching the worship of seventeen Kālīs in this phase.⁴⁰⁶ Yet Abhinavagupta presents a text of the *Kramastotra* that teaches only twelve, lacking Sukālī between Yamakālī (the fifth) and Mṛtyukālī (the seventh). This revision,

⁴⁰⁵ *Tantrāloka*viveka on 4.173ab, vol. 3, pp. 192, l. 10–193, l. 1: *tatrādyah prāptopadeśa evaivaṃ manasy akārṣād etāvaty adbhigate kim idānīm kṛtyam astīti. itthaṃ ca niṣṭhitamanā yāvajjīvam upanatabhogātivāhanamātravyāpāra etadvijñānopadeśapātra*śisyopadeśapravaṇaḥ* (śisyopadeśa em. : *śiṣṭopadeśa* Ed.) *śarīrāntam pratyaiḥṣiṣṭa. sa cedam rahasyam śrīsomānandābhīdhānāya gurave samcārayām babhūva. dvitīyo 'py evam āsta. tasyaiva caīṣā *śrīmadujjaṭodbhaṭādinānāguruparipāṭisamtatir* (ujjaṭodbhaṭādi conj. : *ujjaṭodbhaṭādi* Ed.) *yatprasādāsāditamahimabhirasmābhir etat pradarsitam* 'Of these [three disciples] the first[, Govindarāja,] realized that now that he had gained all this knowledge nothing remained for him to achieve, and having decided this he waited for death, engaging in such action as was necessary to carry to completion the experience already in train [as the fruition of his past actions], and devoting himself to instructing such disciples as were fit to be taught this knowledge. He transmitted this esoteric teaching to a Guru called Somānanda. The second[, Bhānuka,] passed his time in the same way. It is from him that has descended this line of a number of successive Gurus beginning with Ujjaṭa and Udbhaṭa, by the grace of which I have been exalted [by initiation] and have given this explanation'. The rest of this quotation from the *Kramakeli* is given here in footnotes 131 on p. 275 and 133 on p. 276. It is unlikely that the Somānanda mentioned in this passage is the famous Guru of Utpaladeva and author of the *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*, since if it were the form in which he refers to him would have been more reverential. For whenever Abhinavagupta mentions him in his other prose works he affixes the respectful *-pādāḥ* to his name.

⁴⁰⁶ *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 190, ll. 4–6: *...śrīkramasadbhāvabhāṭṭārake anākhyacakre saptadaśa devyaḥ pūjyatvenoktāḥ*. The seventeen are Śṛṣṭikālī, Sthitikālī, Saṃhārakālī, Raktakālī, Sukālī, Yamakālī, Mṛtyukālī, Bhadrakālī, Paramārkakālī, Mārtaṇḍakālī, Kālāgnirudrakālī, Mahākālākālī, **Kṛṣṇakālī**, **Sarvāntakālī**, **Śivakālī**, **Krodhakālī**, and Mahābhairavaghoracaṇḍagrasanakālī. This comprises the thirteen Kālīs that make up the circle of the Nameless in the *Kālikulapañcaśataka* with the addition of the four Kālīs given here in bold characters. See SANDERSON forthcoming *a* for the textual evidence for these names.

whose metaphysical significance has been considered above,⁴⁰⁷ was achieved, by Abhinavagupta or a predecessor, by expunging the reading *sukālīm* in the verse devoted to that Kālī and putting *bhavānīm* in its place, a non-specific name of the Goddess that enabled the verse to be read as a second on Yamakālī, the deity who immediately precedes Sukālī.

To the objection that this disrupts the pattern of the hymn, which devotes only one verse to each Kālī, Jayaratha responds that there is no such pattern, since there is also a second verse devoted to Kālāgnirudrakālī. To the rejoinder that the verse in question is an interpolation, no doubt intended to undermine the argument from pattern, Jayaratha replies that he has seen it in Hrasvanātha's autograph of his commentary on the hymn and, as though conscious that this alone is insufficient to disprove the claim that it is an interpolation, adds that there are so many variants in the text of the hymn found in the various commentaries on it, affecting not only individual words throughout the text but also the order of verses, that the opponent has no reason other than prejudice (*pradveṣaḥ*) to reject Abhinavagupta's *bhavānīm*. He ends his tendentious argument by insisting that it is impossible to adjudicate between the readings *sukālīm* and *bhavānīm* on purely textual grounds and that the decision to prefer the latter has therefore to be based on his inherited tradition of instruction (*gurūpadeśaḥ*).

This last argument refers back to the claim that the tradition of twelve was that received by the three disciples Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Eraka. To the objection that Jñānanetranātha himself taught that there were thirteen in his *Kālikāstotra* and that therefore this tradition can only be an unwarranted deviation in a branch of his spiritual descendants, Jayaratha replies that in fact Jñānanetranātha taught both twelve and thirteen in that work, so that both traditions are valid options. That argument is empty, since the verse on the twelve states that the Goddess manifests twelve divisions while remaining grounded in her own nature, which is evidently the thirteenth.⁴⁰⁸ Since Jayaratha does not cite any textual evidence that the tradition of twelve occurs earlier in this line of transmission—he would surely have done so if any were available, since that would greatly have strengthened his position as Abhinavagupta's defender—one is bound to suspect that all this is special pleading to justify a major innovation. The fact that he can cite a passage from “scripture” (*āgamaḥ*) that appears to list only twelve Kālīs would at least show that Abhinavagupta's view has a basis

⁴⁰⁷ See footnote 271 on p. 317.

⁴⁰⁸ *Kālikāstotra*, f. 90v5–91r1 (v. 5). For text and translation see footnote 125 on p. 274.

in the tradition of the Kālikula if not in that deriving from Jñānānētra-nātha. However, even if the passage is genuine and earlier than Abhinavagupta, I suspect that it has been modified to serve this purpose. The first line, giving the parts of the first six names that proceed -kālī reads *yat sṛṣṭisthitisaṃhāraraktaś ca yamamṛtyubhiḥ*, which provides Sṛṣṭikālī, Sthitikālī, Saṃhārakālī, Raktakālī, Yamakālī, and Mṛtyukālī; but the conjunction *ca* is out of place and, more significant, the compound *yamamṛtyubhiḥ* has a plural ending rather than the dual it requires. The anomalies arose, I suspect, by dropping -su- for Sukālī after *yama-* and then inserting the redundant conjunction to restore the metre (← -raktair yamasumṛtyubhiḥ), with the ungrammatical plural left in place as an instance of the deviations from standard Sanskrit that mark the Śaiva scriptural (*aiśa-*) register of the language.⁴⁰⁹

The deletion of Sukālī is not the only respect in which Abhinavagupta's account of the Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless differs in his *Kramakelī* from the tradition of the Krama proper. He has also taught that their true order is other than that in which they are given in the scriptural account followed by the *Kramastotra*. Jayaratha explains that the conventional order is that of their worship (*pūjākramah*) and that it has been designed to conceal the natural order in which they unfold in the process of cognition (*saṃvitkramah*). Abhinavagupta has not changed the sequence of the verses of the hymn, but Jayaratha reports that he has made clear the true order, that in cognition rather than worship, through various statements in his commentary, telling us, for example, after his explanation of the verse on Sṛṣṭikālī (1) that one must understand that in reality the Kālī that follows her is not Sthitikālī (2) but Raktakālī (4).⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁹This elaborate defence of Abhinavagupta's doctrine of the twelve Kālīs is set out in *Tantrāloka-viveka*, vol. 3, pp. 189, l. 1–203, l. 11. The quotation cited as scriptural evidence for the doctrine of twelve Kālīs is on p. 191, ll. 12–15. If the plural ending in the compound *yamamṛtyubhiḥ* could be passed off as an element of the scriptural register of Sanskrit, then, it may be argued, there is no reason to consider the line suspect. However, while explicable as a reflex of the underlying vernacular—in all MIA and NIA languages the dual was defunct—the use of the plural for the dual is very rare in Śaiva literature in any context and I have noted no instance of its use in a Dvandva compound as here.

⁴¹⁰*Tantrāloka-viveka*, vol. 3, p. 162, ll. 3–7: *ata evāgamaikaśaraṇatayā pravṛtte 'pi śrīkramastotre grantha*kr̥tā* (em. : *kr̥tām* Ed.) *saṃvitkramam eva pradarśayitum tadvivṛtau śrīṣṭikālyādistuti-śloka-vyākhyānānantaram* “śrīraktakālyā bhagavatya ātaḥ param sthitiḥ saṃbhāvya ityādy uktam” ‘It is for this reason that although the *Kramastotra* proceeds in complete dependence on scripture [our] author has made various statements in his commentary on it after his explanation of verses of the hymn devoted to Sṛṣṭikālī and the other [goddesses], in order to reveal [their true] order in cognition. Thus, for example, he has said [after his commentary on the verse

Abhinavagupta's departure from the mainstream Krama tradition in his treatment of the Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless would indeed be somewhat surprising if it had been formulated from within that tradition. However, in spite of Jayaratha's insistence we lack clear evidence that it was. There is no good reason to doubt Abhinavagupta's claim that he had received initiation and instruction in the Krama at some point in his career; but since his surviving Śaiva exegesis is overwhelmingly in the context of the Trika and since his presentation of that system is deeply imprinted with elements of the Krama it is probable that some or all of his Krama work should be seen as work from within the territory of the Trika, work which being outside the authority of the Krama proper could adjust and rearrange Krama elements for its own purpose, as in this matter of the number of the Kālīs of the phase of the Nameless.

Abhinavagupta also wrote a *Kramastotra*, a hymn to Śiva in thirty verses on the subject of true worship as the contemplation of the energetic nature of consciousness as manifest in the Kālīs of the Krama's phase of the Nameless. Here we see the revised number and order of the Kālīs in full. There is a further novelty in his referring to the holder of these powers (*śaktimān*) under the name Manthāna-.⁴¹¹ This is no doubt the Manthānabhairava that his pupil Kṣemarāja places in this role.⁴¹² I know of no scriptural authority of the Krama that makes Manthānabhairava Lord of its Kālīs. But perhaps the source of this variant is the Kalpa of the *Mahālakṣmīmata* which ends the fourth *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*. For there Bhairava is visualized as Manthāna- at the centre of the array of Śaktis, the innermost circuit of which does indeed consist of twelve.⁴¹³

on *Śṛṣṭikālī*: "It is implied that the position immediately after [her] is that of the goddess Raktakālī".

⁴¹¹ *Kramastotra* 28: *anargalasvātmamaye mabeśe tiṣṭhanti yasmin vibhuśaktayas tāḥ | taṁ śaktimantam praṇamāmi devam manthānasamjñam jagadekasāram.*

⁴¹² *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, pp. 26, l. 14–27, l. 7; *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 6, ll. 5–9.

⁴¹³ *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 222r3–v3 (*Mahālakṣmīmata cakradevyutpattimantroddhārapāṭalaḥ*, vv. 10–23): 10 *adṛśyavigrahāc chāntāc chivāc chaktiḥ samutthitā | sā ca dvādaśa-bhedena saṁsthitā cakrabhedataḥ | 11 madhye sthitam mahādevam bhairavam vikṛtānanam | śuddhasphaṭikasamkāśam tuhinādrisamaprabham | 12 sitakundenduvarṇābham śaṅkhagokṣīrapāṇḍuram | daṁṣṭrākarālavadanam mahogṛam bhr̥kuṭīmukham | 13 ūrdhvakeśam virūpākṣam nāgayaḥjñopavitinam | sarvābharāṇasamyuktam sarpagonāsamaṇḍitam | 14 suvāsam kṛttivasanam gajacarmāmbarāvṛtam | pañcavaktram daśabhujam tripañcanayanair yutam | 15 kapālakhaṭvāṅgadharām khadgakeṭakadhāriṇam | śaracāpakaravyagṛam śūlapaṭṭiśadhāriṇam | 16 varadābhayaḥastam ca nandantam śaktimadhyataḥ | kiṁ tu raktamayaṁ devam manthānatvena saṁsthitam | 17 kusumbharaḥasamkāśam dādimī*kusumāñcitam (em. : kusumārcitam) | jātyāhiṅgulakaprakhyam nitambonnataṭpivaram (conj. : nitambatamuttamam Cod.) |*

These are the twelve Yogeśvarīs that form the retinue of Parā in the Trika, but Abhinavagupta considers these and the twelve Kālīs of the Krama to be identical in nature,⁴¹⁴ and this, after all, is a text of the Kālikula.

The Krama also plays a role in his *Bhagavadgītārthasamgraha*, as the source of his interpretation of the *Gītā*'s innermost meaning. Thus, for example:⁴¹⁵

[In 11.18c Vāsudeva is called] *sāttvatadharmagoptā* 'concealer of the religious practice of the Sāttvatas'. The Sāttvatas are [so called in the meaning that they are] those who possess *sat*-. Here *sat*- means (1) the truth (*satyam*) of the absence of any manifestation of distinction between the two [powers,] cognition and action and (2) the reality that is the light [of all], namely Being (*sattā*). Their practice (*dharmah*), which transcends all other paths, is that of projecting and withdrawing. For they are constantly absorbed in [observing] the grasping and transcendence [by consciousness of its contents]. It is this that he conceals. I have given a more thorough analysis of the esoteric teaching (*rahasyam*) given in this chapter [of the *Gītā*] in my commentary on the *Devīstotra*.

Thus Abhinavagupta takes the term *sāttvatāḥ* here not in the common sense, in which it refers to Vaiṣṇava devotees of Vāsudeva, but to denote those engaged in the most esoteric of Śaiva practices. That he means the Krama is indicated not only by the nature of the practice but also by his use of the term *rahasyam* to refer to it. For we find the same term used elsewhere in this commentary in Krama contexts:⁴¹⁶

The *devāḥ* [here] are the functions of the senses, [called *devāḥ*] because it is their nature to play,⁴¹⁷ [that is to say] the Karaṇeśvarīs, the goddesses well-known in the Rahasyaśāstra.

18 *nibaddhamekhalādāmaghargharāvalimaṇḍitam* | *maṇibhūṣaṇasobhādhyam śiropādādibhis tathā* | 19 *suveṣaṃ veṣasaṃpannam divyagandhānulepanam* | *mahālāvanyasamyuktam kimcid-vihasitānanam* | 20 *icchārūpadharam devaṃ pare kṣīrārṇave sthitam* | *devyāḥ svarūpasamyuktā* **vāhanāśvādisamyutāḥ* (*vāhanāśvādi* conj. : *vāhanāśvādi* Cod) | 21 *dvādaśāre mahādevī śṛṇu nāmān yathārthataḥ* | *siddhi(r) ṛddhis tathā lakṣmī dīpti(r) mālā śivā tathā* | 22 *sumukhī* **vānarī* (em. : *cāmarī* Cod.) *nandā harikeśī hayānānā* | *viśveśī ca samākhyatā yogeśvaryo mahābalāḥ* | 23 *dvādaśasvarabhedena saṃsthitā(ś) cakramadhyataḥ*.

⁴¹⁴ *Mālinīvijayottara* 20.46–47; *Tāntrāloka* 3.251–254b, citing the *Trikaśāra*.

⁴¹⁵ *Bhagavadgītārthasamgraha*, pp. 118, l. 18–119, l. 5: *sāttvatadharmagopteti sat satyam kriyā-jñānāyor ubhayor api bhedāpratibhāsātmakam tathā sattātmakam prakāśarūpaṃ tattvaṃ vidyate yeṣāṃ te sāttvatāḥ. teṣāṃ dharmah anavaratagrahaṇasaṃnyāsaparatvāt sṛṣṭisaṃhāraviśayaḥ sakalamārgottirṇaḥ. taṃ gopāyate. etad evātrādhyāye rahasyaṃ prāyaśo devīstotravivṛtau mayā prakāśitam*.

⁴¹⁶ *Bhagavadgītārthasamgraha*, p. 34, ll. 7–8 on 3.11a (*devān bhāvayata* 'contemplate the Devas'): *devāḥ kṛdānaśīlā indriyavṛttayaḥ karaṇeśvaryo devatā rahasyaśāstraprasiddhāḥ*.

⁴¹⁷ He alludes to a semantic analysis of *devaḥ* 'god' from the root *div* 'to play' (*divu kṛdāyām*) in

and:⁴¹⁸

But for those who know the Rahasya the meaning is as follows: the supreme ego-factor that exists beyond the intellect is the ultimate non-duality that is the non-dualistic awareness that everything is oneself.

Here he alludes to the *Dvayasampattivārtika* of the Krama Guru Hrasvanātha/Vāmanadatta:⁴¹⁹

Beyond the level of the intellect is this level of the ego-factor. This whole universe is pervaded by it. It is this when penetrated that bestows liberation.

which itself alludes to the Krama practice of penetrating through the ego-factor that comes to the fore in the *mūrticakram* into the ego-less non-duality that unfolds in the *vr̥ndacakram*. The use of the term Rahasya to denote the Krama is also seen in the works of Kṣemarāja.⁴²⁰

That Abhinavagupta read the esoteric teachings of the *Gītā* in terms of the Krama is confirmed by the South Indian Maheśvarānanda. At the end of his *Mahārthamañjarī* he claims that when Kṛṣṇa revealed his awesome cosmic form to Arjuna in the climax of the events narrated in the *Gītā* he did so while experiencing the timeless state of identity with Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī embodied in her seventeen-syllable Vidyā, that it was this state, the ultimate of the Krama, that he transmitted to Arjuna in order to rouse him from his reluctance to go to war

accordance with the first of the meanings of that root listed in 4.1 of the Paninian *Dhātupāṭha*: *divu krīḍāvijigīṣāvyavahāradyutistutimodasvapnakāntigatiṣu*. See also *Tantrāloka* 1.101–104b, in which he shows following the lost *Śivatanuśāstra* of Bṛhaspati how the word *devaḥ* is appropriate to that which it denotes (*anvartah*) in the first five and the last of these nine meanings.

⁴¹⁸ *Bhagavadgītārthasamgraha*, p. 44, ll. 9–11 on 3.48a (*evam buddheḥ param buddhvā* ‘having thus realized that which is beyond the intellect’): *rahasyavidāṃ tv ayam āśayaḥ. buddher yaḥ paratra vartate paro ’haṃkāraḥ ’sarvam aham’ ity abhedātmā sa khalu paramo ’bhedaḥ*.

⁴¹⁹ *Dvayasampattivārtika* A, f. 8r18–19; B, f. 6r8 (v. 5): *ahaṃkāramayī bhūmir buddhibhūmer parā hi sā | tayā vyāptam idam sarvaṃ saiva vyāptā vimuktidā*.

⁴²⁰ See, e.g., *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 7, 5–6: *tat khecaryūrdhvamārgasthaṃ vyomavāmeśigocaram iti rahasyanītyā* ‘in accordance with the position of the Rahasya [stated in] “That is in the domain of Vyomavāmeśvarī in the path above Khecari”; p. 20, ll. 20–23: *yady api rahasyadr̥ṣṭau na kaścij jadaḥ karaṇavargo ’sti api tu vijñānadehāḥ karaṇeśvarya eva vijṛmbhante tathāpīha suprasiddhapratityanusāreṇopadeśyaḥ krameṇa rahasyārthopadeśe ’nupraveśya ity evam uktam* ‘He has put the matter in these terms with the thought that although there is no “inert group of faculties” in the Rahasya doctrine—on the contrary [in that doctrine] the goddesses of the faculties manifest themselves as embodiments of consciousness—the student may be introduced to the teaching of the Rahasya doctrine indirectly by starting from the well-established [non-esoteric] understanding [of their nature]’.

with his own kin, and that it is this revelation that is the basis of all the *Gītā*'s eighteen chapters.⁴²¹ He ends his exposition by appealing to the authority of "the renowned Abhinavagupta", saying that he had explained all this at length in his *Kramakeli*.⁴²²

As for the commentary on the *Devīstotra*, this has not come to light; but that it too was a work with Krama content is apparent from the context in which Abhinavagupta has referred to it in the passage in his commentary on the *Gītā* translated above, namely as the source of a detailed exposition of his view that the eleventh chapter of that text, in which Kṛṣṇa reveals his cosmic form, is in fact conveying the Esoteric Teaching (Rahasya) [of the Krama]. Since Maheśvarānanda has reported that Abhinavagupta did exactly this in his *Kramakeli*, we may wonder whether the commentary on the *Devīstotra* is not the *Kramakeli* under another name. For the *Kramastotra* is indeed a *devīstotram*, 'a hymn to the Goddess', and it would be somewhat surprising if Abhinavagupta had presented the same view of the *Gītā* in detail in two separate works.⁴²³

ABHINAVAGUPTA AND BHŪTIRĀJA

These works belong to an early phase of Abhinavagupta's Śaiva exegesis. The simplicity of the *Bhagavadgītārthasamgraha*, the narrow range of the sources

⁴²¹ *Mahārthamañjarī* 70: *enam cea mahattham juthhārambhammi paṇḍuuttassa | cholaha-sahassasattī devo uvadisāi mādhave tti sivaṃ* (= Skt. *enam eva mahārtham yuddhārambhe paṇḍuputrasya śoḍaśasahasraśaktir deva upadiśati mādhave iti śivaṃ*) 'It is exactly this Mahārtha that the god Mādhave with the sixteen thousand powers teaches to Arjuna at the beginning of the battle. [May this work, now completed bestow] salvation [on all]'; *Mahārthamañjarī-parimala* ad loc., p. 177, ll. 6–10: *tam enam eva śoḍaśasahasraśaktiḥ śoḍaśādhikāvilāsalakṣaṇam akālakalitam śrīkālasaṃkarṣaṇībhāvam anubhavan ... arjunasyopadiśati upādikṣad iti yāvat* 'He who possesses sixteen thousand Śaktis teaches, that is to say, taught, this same [Mahārtha] to Arjuna while experiencing that identity with Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī that is the effulgence of the seventeen[-syllable Vidyā] and unaffected by time'; and p. 179, l. 15–16: *etat sarvatrāṣṭādaśādhyāyānususūtam aṅgāṅgibhāvabhāṅgyā* 'This [teaching] pervades all the eighteen Adhyāyas [of the *Gītā*] in the sense that it is principal and everything else ancillary to it'.

⁴²² *Mahārthamañjarī-parimala*, p. 183, l. 19–20: *etad vitatya *vikhāte* (conj. ; *vikhyātaiḥ* Ed.) *kramakelau kulāgame | nāthābhinavaguptāyāiḥ paryālocitam ādarāt*.

⁴²³ K. C. PANDEY has asserted (1963, p. 40) that the hymn on which Abhinavagupta commented was the *Devīstotra* attributed to the ninth-century Kashmirian poet and poetician Ānandavardhana. But that is implausible, since that *Devīstotra* is Paurāṇika in content and style rather than Tantric.

cited in it, and its author's modesty,⁴²⁴ point to this conclusion, and, as we have seen, the *Devīstotravivarāṇa* is even earlier.⁴²⁵ Moreover, at the time that Abhinavagupta wrote his commentary on the *Gītā* it was Bhūtīrāja that he acknowledged as his Guru.⁴²⁶ That he was still early in his scholarly career at that time is consonant with the fact that Bhūtīrāja had also been the Guru of his father Cukhulaka (/Narasimhagupta).⁴²⁷ His *Kramastotra*, the earliest of his dated works, was composed in A.D. 991, twenty-four years before his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivismarśinī*.⁴²⁸ As for the *Kramakeli*, I have pointed to the possibility that it is none other than the *Devīstotravivarāṇa* cited in the *Bhagavadgītārthasamgraha* and therefore among his earliest works; but we can say with certainty only that Abhinavagupta wrote it before he composed the *Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa*, the second of his surviving works on the Trika, since that cites it.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁴For this modesty see, e.g., p. 51, l. 22–52, l. 3: *ity anena ślokena vaksyamāṇaiś ca ślokaibḥ paramarahasyam upanibaddham. tac cāsmābhir mitabuddhibhir api yathābuddhi yathāgurv-āmnāyam ca vivṛtam. mukhasampradāyam antareṇa naitan nabhaścitraṁ iva cittam upārohatīti na vāyam upālambhanīyāḥ* 'The highest esoteric truth has been formulated in this and the verses that follow, and I, though of limited understanding, have explained it in accordance with that understanding and the tradition received from my teacher. I ask you not to find fault with me, for this leaves no impression in the mind, like a picture painted in the sky, unless one receives the tradition through oral instruction [by a Guru]'.
⁴²⁵See p. 359.

⁴²⁶*Bhagavadgītārthasamgraha*, p. 186, concluding verses, 1–2: *śrīmān kātyāyano 'bhūd vara-rucisadṛśaḥ prasphuradbodhatṛptaś tadvaṁśālamkṛto yaḥ sthīramatir abhavad sauśukākhyo 'rivid-vān | vipraḥ śrībhūtīrājaś tadanu samābhavat tasya sūnur mahātmā yenāmi sarvalokāś tamasi nipatitāḥ proddhṛtā bhānuneva | 2 taccaraṇakamalamadhupo bhagavadgītārthasamgrahaṁ vyadhāt | abhinavaḥ *saddvijaḥ *saddvijaḥ *saddvijaḥ* (*saddvija corr. : *sadvija* Ed.) 'There was an illustrious [scholar called] Kātyāyana, the equal of Vararuci himself. Adorned by descent from him was Sauśuka, a brahmin of firm resolve and exceptional learning. After him came his son, the holy Bhūtīrāja, who like the sun has rescued so many that were sunk in darkness. Abhinavagupta, a drinker of the nectar of the lotuses that are his feet, has composed [this] *Bhagavadgītārthasamgraha*, at the urging of the pious brahmin Loṭaka'.

⁴²⁷*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivismarśinī*, vol. 3, p. 405, ll. 16–19: *bhaṭṭātriguptakulajātavarāha-guptajannābhavac cukhulakaḥ śivamārganiṣṭhaḥ | śrībhūtīrājavadanoditaśambhuśāstratattvām-śuśātītasamastabhavāndhakāraḥ* 'Cukhulaka, son of Varāhagupta, a descendant of the lineage of Bhaṭṭa Atrigupta, devoted to the path of Śiva, all the darkness of his bound existence completely dispelled by the essence of the reality of Śiva's teachings transmitted to him by the venerable Bhūtīrāja ...'.

⁴²⁸See footnote 597 on p. 413.

⁴²⁹See *Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa*, p. 267, l. 5: *vyākhyātaṁ caitan mayā taṭṭikāyāṁ eva kramakelau vistarataḥ* 'I have explained this at length in the *Kramakeli*, my commentary on that text'.

The **Kramavaṃśāvalī* reports that Bhūtīrāja, whom it identifies as one of the pupils of Cakrabhānu, taught the Krama to Abhinavagupta. This adds weight to the view that in the period during which Abhinavagupta wrote the *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha* the Krama was indeed central to his Śaivism. Jayaratha rejects the report. But his reason for doing so is simply that he considers it to be inconsistent with Abhinavagupta's adherence to the doctrine of the twelve Kālīs. For he insists that Cakrabhānu did not teach this doctrine to any of his disciples, citing as his evidence the fact that Cakrabhānu's teaching on this matter was still widely attested in Kashmir in the lineages derived from him, and adding that the author of the **Kramavaṃśāvalī* himself confirms that Bhūtīrāja practised a different order of worship by writing that this Guru and his successors followed the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*, which, like Cakrabhānu, teaches thirteen Kālīs in the phase of the Nameless.⁴³⁰

And therefore we should reject as pure invention the claims of Gurus in our time who being ignorant that Abhinavagupta's preceptorial lineage is as it is [stated in the *Kramakeli*] have made, for example, the following assertion: "Another disciple of Cakrabhānu was the Ācārya called Bhūtīrāja, who was the Guru of the Guru Abhinavagupta in the Kālīnaya". For Cakrabhānu never gave this teaching [seen in the *Kramakeli*] to any of his disciples, since we can see with hundreds [of Gurus] even today that a different teaching derives from him. Moreover, in that same [**Kramavaṃśāvalī*] you yourself have attested that Bhūtīrāja's order of worship in this [phase] differs, when you write there: "Bhūtīrāja and his successors, having adopted the doctrine of the *Devīpañcaśataka* ...". If you hold that only twelve goddesses are required to be worshipped [by that text] in this [phase], then [it is clear that] you do not even know what it is that the *Devīpañcaśataka* teaches. So go. Ask your Guru. Why should I enlighten [you]?

But this argument is inconclusive, since it rests on the dubious assumption that Abhinavagupta could not have adjusted the tradition of the Krama but must

On the order in which Abhinavagupta composed his surviving works on the Trika (*Mālinīvijayavārtika*→*Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa*→*Tantrāloka*→*Tantrasāra*) see SANDERSON 2005a, p. 124, footnote 88.

⁴³⁰ *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 193, l. 13–p. 194, l. 8 : *ataś cāsyaiṣaṃ gurukramam ajānānair adyatanaiḥ śrībhūtīrājanāmāpy ācāryaś cakrabhānuśiṣyo 'nyaḥ | abhinavaguptasya guror yasya hi kālīnaye gurutā*" ityādi yad uktam tat svotprekṣitam evety upekṣyam. na hi śrīcakrabhānunā prāyaḥ kasyacid apy evam upadiṣṭam tanmūlatayaivedānīm **anyasyopadeśasya* (conj. : *asyopadeśasya* Ed.) śataśo darśanāt. tatrāpi cātra śrībhūtīrājasyānyathā pūjākrama iti "devīpañcaśatāśayam āśritya ca bhūtīrājapūrvvānam" ity abhidhadbhir bhavadbhir evoktam. athātra dvādaśaiva devyaḥ pūjyatayā sthitā ity abhipretam bhavatas tarhi śrīpañcaśatikārtham api na jānīṣe. tad gaccha. svagurum prccha. kim asmadāviṣkrtena.

have inherited his teaching from his predecessors. Jayaratha has in any case overlooked a passage that he himself has cited elsewhere from an unidentified lost work by Abhinavagupta. In that Abhinavagupta tells us that he is the inheritor of the “glorious lineage of the Siddhas from the Bhaṭṭārikā to Bhūti”. This can only be the lineage of the Krama, since no other tradition in this environment claims to have descended from a woman. The Bhaṭṭārikā, then, is Maṅgalā; and Bhūti is surely a *bhīmavat* abbreviation for Bhūtirāja.⁴³¹

That Bhūtirāja was indeed a Guru of the Krama, as the **Kramavamsāvali* reports, is indicated by two citations. Abhinavagupta himself quotes him in his *Tantrasāra* for his metaphysical analysis of the meaning of the name Kālī from the root *kal* in the meanings ‘to project’ and ‘to know’,⁴³² and Maheśvarānanda quotes him in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* as saying that the Mantra is identical with the Goddess herself because it emerges in its real nature by drawing all consciousness into itself.⁴³³ That this is the Goddess of the Krama is apparent from the context of the citation. He cites this remark immediately after citing a statement to the same effect from the *Kramakeli*: “The Mantra is identical with the Goddess herself, namely this sacred consciousness (*bhagavatī samvit*) that has the nature described”;⁴³⁴ and the nature to which he refers is that stated in a line of the *Kramastotra* cited by Maheśvarānanda immediately before this citation, implying that the latter is a comment on the former:⁴³⁵

The Mantra rises radiant with the dissolution that is the [all-consuming] fire of

⁴³¹ *Tantrāloka* v. 1, pp. 28, l. 18–29, l. 9 (on l. 9: *jayati gurur eka eva śrīśrīkaṇṭho bhuvi prathitaḥ | tadāparamūrtir bhagavān maheśvaro bhūtirājaś ca* ‘Victorious is Śrīkaṇṭha, manifest on earth as the unique Guru, and his embodiment[s] the venerable Maheśvara and Bhūtirāja’): ...*maheśvara iti yaḥ śrīsaṃtatyardhatraiyaṃbakākhyamaṭhikayor gurutayāne nānyatroktaḥ paramēśa itiśa iti ca. yad āha: bhaṭṭārikādibhūtyantaḥ śrīmān siddhodayakramah | bhaṭṭādīparamēśantaḥ śrīsaṃtāṇodayakramah | śrīmān bhaṭṭādir īśāntaḥ paramo ’tha gurukramah | trikārūpas trikārthe me dhiyaṃ vardhayatāṃtarām* ‘Maheśvara [here] is the person he has identified in another work as his Guru in the Śrīsaṃtāna and Ardhatraiyambaka lineages under the names Paramēśa and Īśa. As he states [there]: “May this threefold Guru lineage greatly increase my understanding of the teachings of the Trika: (1) the glorious lineage of the Siddhas, from the Bhaṭṭārikā to Bhūti, (2) the glorious lineage of the Śrīsaṃtāna, from the Bhaṭṭa to Paramēśa, and (3) the supreme lineage from the Bhaṭṭa to Īśa”’.

⁴³² *Tantrasāra*, p. 30, ll. 15–17.

⁴³³ *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 122, l. 23–24: *bhaṭṭasrībhūtirājenāpy uktam “sarvakroḍīkārena sthitatvād devy eva mantrah”*.

⁴³⁴ *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 122, l. 22: *śrīkramakelāv apy uktam: seyam evaṃvidhā bhagavatī saṃviddevy eva mantrah*.

⁴³⁵ *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 122, l. 20–21: *śrīstotrābhaṭṭārake ’pi: “cidagnisaṃbhāramarīcimantrah saṃvidvīkalpān glapayann udeti” iti*.

consciousness, eliminating all the conceptual constructions of [differentiated] cognition.

The Mantra is not identified, but it is evidently the Krama's seed-syllable KHPHREM. For the *Kramastotra* describes the manner of its arising in consciousness (*saṃvitkramah*) as follows:⁴³⁶

Thus one should contemplate the awesome circle [of the syllable KHPHREM], which embodies total withdrawal, from the fire of the aeon (R) to the power of the circle (Ṁ), dissolving the phases [of cognition] as it swallows up the universe and finally reaches the [ultimate] that resides in the void of [unlimited] consciousness.

and Abhinavagupta refers to it as the *saṃhārahṛdayam* 'the heart of resorption', contrasting it with 'the heart of emission' (*śṛṣṭihṛdayam*), the seed-syllable SAUḤ of the Trika's supreme goddess Parābhāṭṭārikā.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶ *Tantrāloka* vol. 3, p. 223, ll. 11–15: *ata eva śrīstotrabhāṭṭārike 'pi "kālanālād vyomakalāvasānam cintyaṃ jagadgrāsakalālayena | cakram mahāsaṃhṛtirūpam ugram gataṃ cidākāśapadaṣṭham ittham" ityādīnā saṃhārakrameṇaivāśyodaya uktah.*

⁴³⁷ See *Tantrāloka* 4.185c–189b (SAUḤ), 189c–191b (KHPHREM), 191cd: *idaṃ saṃhārahṛdayaṃ prācyaṃ śṛṣṭau ca tan matam*; 5.54c–74 (SAUḤ), 75–78 (KHPHREM). The seed syllable as stated cryptically in 4.189c–191b has been interpreted as RḶKHEṀ (PADOUX 1990, p. 424, footnote 117). This is also how it was understood by Swami Lakshman Joo when I studied the text with him. But this is incorrect. There is no such seed-syllable in the Śaiva Mantrasāstra. There are in fact two errors here. The first derives from the published text of the commentary of Jayaratha, which refers to the second element as *saṃhārakunḍalinyātmakasyaitadrūpalipeḥ kūtavarṇasya* 'the sound kṣ[A], which is identical with the Kuṇḍalinī of withdrawal and whose written form embodies this'. The reading *kūṭa* in *kūtavarṇasya* is, I propose, a corruption of *kuṇḍala* or *krūra*, which are both code-names for PH[A]. See *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 20v2–3, in a chapter listing code-names for the sounds of the syllabary (*varṇanāmapaṭalaḥ*): *kuṇḍalaṃ bhairavaṃ rāvaṃ rāviṇi yoginīpriyam | kuṇḍalinātham atulam krūraṃ vai bhīmam anīkuṣam | phakāraṃ dhāmadhāmānaṃ nāmabhiḥ samudāhṛtam*. Abhinavagupta himself probably had another of these code-names for PH[A] in mind, namely *rāvaḥ* 'the resonance' or *rāviṇi* 'the resonator', since he refers to the sound in question in the phrase *antarnadatparāma-rśaśeṣābhūtam*, 'reduced to nothing but an internally resonating awareness', speaking of the state of the external in this phase, after it has been dissolved in the fire of awareness (= R[A]) (*tat sad eva bahirūpaṃ prāg bodhāgnivilāpitam*). The second error was to fail to understand that in this passage, as in the verse I have cited from the *Kramastotra*, the constituents of the syllable are stated not in their actual order as pronounced but in the order in which they are held to arise in consciousness (*saṃvitkramah*), as explained by Jayaratha on this passage in *Tantrāloka* vol. 3, p. 221, ll. 16–18: *atra ca saṃvitkrameṇaiva śrīpiṇḍanāthasya vyāptiḥ. iti tadanusāreṇaiva tasyoddhārah* 'And in these [verses] the correspondence of the Piṇḍanātha is in accordance with the order [of the arising of the phases corresponding to its components] in consciousness itself,

The Svabodhasiddhi of Bhūti

No work by Bhūtirāja is known to have survived. However, there is a short unpublished work that may be his. This is the *Svabodhasiddhi*, which its colophon attributes to Śrībhāṭṭa Bhūti.⁴³⁸ The naming of the author as [Śrībhāṭṭa] Bhūti rather than [Bhāṭṭasrī] Bhūtirāja is not itself an obstacle. For we have seen Abhinavagupta use Bhūti for Bhūtirāja in the unidentified work cited above;⁴³⁹ and Kṣemarāja and Yogarāja have both referred to themselves as Kṣema and Yoga.⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, the content of the text is consistent with its being a product of the Krama. Claiming oral instruction (*gurumukham*) as its authority⁴⁴¹ it teaches the attainment of self-realization through the dissolution of the activity of the mind and senses brought about by coming to rest in one's own nature through direct intuition of one's consciousness (*svabodhaḥ*) or own being (*svasattā*), a state that cannot be taught, that cannot be attained except through one's own innate capacity, and that once attained liberates from all conceptual constructions, both experiential and theoretical. This is reminiscent of the Siddha-teachings of Hrasvanātha's *Svabodhodayamañjarī* and of the doctrine of sudden enlightenment taught in the *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, Anantaśakti's

and so he has raised it [sound by sound] following that order [rather than that of their pronunciation, i.e., in the order R-PH-KHE-M rather than KH-PH-R-E-M]'. That the error is not Jayaratha's is evident from his citation in his commentary on these verses of a passage from an unidentified Krama text which shows a way of explaining the rise of the Mantra without deviating from the order of pronunciation: *śivanabhasi vīgalitākṣaḥ kuṇḍilyunmeṣavikasitānandaḥ | prajvalitasakalarandhrah kāmīnyā hṛdayakuharam adhirūḍhaḥ | yogī śūnya ivāste tasya svayam eva yoginīhṛdayam | hṛdayanabhomaṇḍalagaṃ samuccaraty analakoṭīdīptam* 'His senses dissolved in the void (= KH[A]) of Śiva, with bliss fully expanded through the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī (= PH[A]), all the apertures [of his body] ablaze (= R[A]), immersed in the core of the heart of the beloved (= E), the Yogin rests as though in emptiness (= M). The heart of the Yoginī (= E) surges up in the sphere of the void of his heart (= M), brilliant as countless fires'.

⁴³⁸ *Svabodhasiddhi*, f. 59r4–5: *iti śrībhāṭṭabhūtiviracitā svabodhasiddhis samāptā*.

⁴³⁹ See footnote 431 on p. 364.

⁴⁴⁰ Kṣemarāja, *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, opening verse 2: *kṣemeṇoddhriyate sārāḥ saṃsāra-viśāntaye*; Kṣemarāja, *Spandasamdoha*, p. 25, closing verse 3cd: *kṣemeṇārthijanārthitena vivṛtaṃ śrīspandasūtraṃ manāk*; Kṣemarāja, *Śivastotrāvalivivṛti*, p. 355, closing verse 3cd: *tasmād guror abhinavāt paramēśamūrteḥ kṣemo nīṣamya vivṛtiṃ vyatanod amutra*; Yogarāja, *Paramārthasāravivṛti*, p. 1, opening verse 2cd: *vivṛtiṃ karomi laghvīm asmin vidvajjanārthito yogaḥ*; Yogarāja, *Śivāṣṭaka*, f. 9v10–(v. 8ab): *yogena caitanyaśivaḥ stuto 'yam śivāṣṭakeneti śarīrasaṃsthaḥ | tenāśu sarvasya śivam karotu śivaḥ *svahr̥ṇmadhyamadhāmādhāmā* (*sva* corr. : *su* Cod.).

⁴⁴¹ *Svabodhasiddhi*, f. 59r3–4 (v. 33d, final words): *namāmy asamasundaram gurumukhopadiṣṭam śivam* 'I bow to the Śiva of unequalled beauty taught to me in the oral instruction of my Guru'.

commentary on the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*, and the anonymous *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*. It also contains phrasing and terminology found in these and other texts of the Krama, including the *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā* of Bhūtīrāja's Guru Cakrabhānu and the Krama-based *Prajñākālīvidhi* of the second *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*:

Svabodhasiddhi, f. 56v2–6 (vv. 2–3): *aśeṣadarśanāveśaviśeṣādhipivivarjitam | svasamvedanasamvedyaṃ svastham vande param śivam | nirastakalpanājālavikalpaughavighātine | namo 'stu paramānandapadātītāya sambhave* 'I venerate the supreme Śiva located in the self, who can be known only in self-experience, who is devoid of the mental torment of all specific doctrines. I bow to Śambhu, the destroyer of the flow of conceptual construction, free of the snare of the mind's imaginings, transcending the level [even] of the highest bliss'. Cf. *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 3r2 (v. 29cd): *prāptam *mayā* (conj : *twayā* Cod.) *anirdeśyaṃ vikalpaughavilāpakam* 'I attained that undesignatable [reality] that eliminates the flow of conceptual construction'; Anantaśakti, *Vātūlanāthasūtravṛtti*, final verse: *iti paramarahasyam vāgvikalpaughamuktam* 'Thus [I have explained] the ultimate esoteric teaching that is free of the flow of conceptual construction'; and Cakrabhānu, *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā* 3cd (TESTIMONIUM: unattributed citation by Ramyadeva on *Bhāvopahāra* 47): **nirastāśāstrārthavikalpajālā devyaḥ śmaśāne karavīrakākhye* (see footnote 187 on p. 293) '[Supreme] are the goddesses [Jayā etc.] in the Karavīra cremation ground[. For they are] free of the snare of conceptual construction that is the doctrines of the Śāstras'. For the notion that the ultimate ground transcends the highest bliss see *Chummāsamketaparakāśa*, f. 5v3–6, vv. 71–73: (on the Chummā *akulapavesu* 'entrance into the transcendent ground'): *nirāvaraṇanirādhāmanirānandam nirāśrayam | paraprakāśam aspaṇḍam śāntacinmātravīgraham | nānāśaktikarasphāraviśrāntipadam acyutam | niyatānubhavaḥkṣīṇasvasvarūpaikagocaram | akulam gurubhiḥ proktam niḥsvabhāvaṃ sadoditam | sa so 'ham iti samkrāmāt praveśas tatra jāyate* 'The Gurus [of the Krama] term Akula the unobscured [reality] that is free of the [three] radiances [of the object, means, and agent of cognition], beyond bliss, unlocated, the highest light, motionless, its substance nothing but quiescent consciousness, the stable point in which the expansion of the rays that are its many powers is grounded, located nowhere but in that nature of the self in which all specific experience is obliterated, beyond any [definable] essence, eternally present. Entry into that occurs by immediate transmission through the intuition that it is this that is one's identity'; *Kālikulakramasadbhāva*, f. 4v2 (v. 2.47c): **nitye śūnye* (em. : *nityaśūnya* Cod.) *nirānande* 'In the eternal void, beyond bliss'; and *Kālikulapañcaśataka* A, f. 20r5 (5.22cd), on Kālī in the phase of the Nameless: *ravimadhye nirānandā cinmaricyantabhāsikā* 'Beyond bliss in the centre of the [twelve] suns, illuminating the limit of the rays of consciousness'.

Svabodhasiddhi, f. 56v10–11 (v. 6): *mamāham iti hṛdgranthicchedanaika-*

krpāṇikām | *spandāspandakṛtagrāsāṃ naumy ahaṃ śuddhasaṃvidam* 'I venerate that pure consciousness that has devoured both active and quiescent states, the knife that alone can cut through the heart's knots of 'my' and 'I'. Cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 179r7–179v1: **spandāspandakṛtagrāsā* (*spandāspanda* conj. : *sadāspanda* Cod.) '[Pratyāṅgirā], who has devoured both the active and the quiescent states'; *ibid.*, f. 168v4: *spandāspandāntarodāravīryavyaktikalālayā* '[Naṭṭeśvarī], whose ground is the power of the manifestation of the exalted vigour that lies between the active and quiescent states'; Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānaya-prakāśa*, f. 129v1–2 (v. 249): *spandāspandaparispandasamdhānojjhitavigrahaṃ* | *sarvatrāvasthitam vande vācātītam anāmayam* 'I venerate that perfect reality beyond expression that is present in everything, its nature free of the consciousness that is the oscillation of the active and quiescent'.

Svabodhasiddhi, f. 56v11–12 (v. 7): *vyapadeśavibhāṇasya tattvasya kathanam katham* | *svasaṃvedanasadyuktyā gamyate yadi kena cit* 'How can the process of oral instruction convey that nameless reality. If some rare person grasps it then it is by the higher method of self-experience'; and f. 57r11–12 (v. 14): *bodhamātragrahaḥ kāryasuprabuddhena cetasā* | *tāvadyāvat svasāmarthyāt svaṇiṣṭhaḥ kevalo bhavet* 'With fully awakened awareness he should take hold of nothing but his consciousness until by his own ability he comes to rest in the self and so attains liberation'. Cf. *Mahānaya-prakāśa* (Triv.) 1.20: *mahātīvratame* + + + *svānubhavasthite* | *kathanādīkramātītā viśuddhis *tasya* (conj. : *tatra* Ed.) *kāśate* 'In the most extreme [descent of power] (*mahātīvratame*), that rests in self-experience [alone], unimpeded awareness dawns for him without his descending to the processes of instruction or [worship]'.

Svabodhasiddhi, f. 57r1–5 (vv. 9–10): *upeyaprāptiyupāyo 'yaṃ svabodhajāgarūkatā* | *svabodhajāgarūkatvān nirvibhāgā sthitir muneh* | *upāyo nāparaḥ kaścit svasattānugamād rte* | *tām evānusaran yogī svastho yaḥ sa *sukhī* (corr. : *svakhī* Cod.) *bhavet* 'This method of attaining the goal is to be constantly awake to one's own consciousness. By this means the sage achieves the state free of differentiation. There is no method other than holding to awareness of one's own being. It is by maintaining awareness of this that the meditator will attain happiness, resting in the self. Cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 2, f. 101r3–4 (*Prajñākālīvidhi*, v. 24): **sukhena* (corr. : *mukhena* Cod.) *sādhyate sāt tu svasattāgrahaṇena tu* | *prajñāyogena *yogeśī* (corr. : *yogeśī* Cod.) *siddhyate nānyathā kva cit* 'But by taking hold of one's own being Yogeśvarī [Kālī] is effortlessly accomplished. It is by [this] meditation of direct insight that she is mastered and never otherwise'.

Svabodhasiddhi, f. 58r1–7 (vv. 22–24): *abhedabodhasambodhāt svarūpānubhavasthitim* | *vyutthitasan niruddho vā labhate yas sa tattvavit* | *yasya sarvāsv avasthāsu *svasthitir* (corr. : *susthitir* Cod.) *naiva lupyate* | *tasya kiṃ*

nāma kurvanti śāstrabhramaṇavibhramāḥ | vīgalitasadasadvikalpas sadasadbhramajanitamohamuktātma | jīvaṇṇ api janamadhye vīgatabhayaḥ sarvadā yogī ‘One is enlightened who by realizing undifferentiated consciousness attains stability in the experience of his own nature both when he has emerged from immersion and when he is in it. Of what benefit are agitated wanderings in the Śāstras to one whose rest in the self is never interrupted in any state [of consciousness]? For him the conceptual constructions ‘is’ and ‘is not’ have ceased to exist. He is free of the delusion caused by the error of these two. Even while living in the midst of society [this] meditator is ever free of fear’. With v. 24ab cf. Jñānanetra, *Kālikāstotra*, f. 90v1–2 (v. 1): *sitataraśaṃvidavāpyaṃ sadasatkalanāvihīnam anupādhi | jayati jagatrayarūpaṃ nīrūpaṃ devī te rūpaṃ* ‘Supreme, O Goddess, is your formless form in the form of the three worlds, that can be attained [only] by the purest awareness and is devoid of the conceptual constructions ‘is’ and ‘is not’, free of all limiting adjuncts’; *ibid.*, f. 91v1 (v. 10ab): *sadasadvibhedasūter dalanaparā kāpi sahaśaśaṃvittih*; ‘[You, O Goddess, are supreme], that unique innate awareness that seeks to obliterate the projection of the difference of ‘is’ and ‘is not’; and *Chummāśaṃketaprakāśa*, f. 2r3 (v. 4):*nīrāveśā sadasadbhramavarjitā | nīrvikalpāvikalpā tu śaṃvid-ujjhītatadharminī* ‘[The level (*bhūmih*)] that cannot be penetrated, free of the error of ‘is’ and ‘is not’, free of both discursive and non-discursive awareness, transcending the attributes of cognition’.

However, while the identity of the author of the *Svabodhasiddhi* with the Krama teacher Bhūtīrāja is not refuted by his being called Bhūti or by the nature of his work’s content, I see no evidence that makes this identity more than plausible.⁴⁴²

KRAMA WORKS KNOWN ONLY FROM QUOTATIONS OR REPORTS

Several such works have already been mentioned above: a work by Ojarāja (perhaps a commentary on the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*), Eraka’s *Kramastotra*, commentaries thereon by Hrasvanātha, the author of the Trivandrum *Mahānaya-prakāśa*, and others unnamed, an unidentified work by Hrasvanātha, Abhinavagupta’s commentary *Kramakeli*, his *Devīstotravivaraṇa*, if that is other than the *Kramakeli*, the **Kramavaṃśāvalī*, a hymn by Prabodhanātha or possibly two, the *Rājikā*, the *Pūjātilaka*, some verses from an unidentified Krama scripture or scriptures cited by the author of the commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānaya-prakāśa*, the *Stotramālā* by the same, a work probably

⁴⁴²There are other names in Bhūti- in Kashmirian sources. We have the Saiddhāntika Bhūtikanṭha (see above, p. 244), and the minister Bhūtikalāśa (Kalhaṇa, *Rājataranginī* 7.26).

by the author of the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa* on the oral instructions, the *Prākṛtatrimśikāvivarāṇa* of Bhaṭṭāraka, the *Akulakālikātrimśikā* and *Akramakallolakārikā* of Ramyadeva, a hymn by his son, and the hymn of a certain Rāma that alludes to the Chummā *ditto niṭto*.⁴⁴³ To these may be added the *Kramasūtra*, from which we have a passage on how by means of the internal *kramamudrā* the meditator achieves immersion even when his awareness is extroverted,⁴⁴⁴ a collection of verses (*vimuktakāṇi*) by a certain Bhaṭṭa Dāmodara, from which we have a verse stating that the five Flow Goddesses liberate when perceived and bind when not,⁴⁴⁵ the Old Kashmiri *Siddhasūtra*, of which we have a verse on the pervasion of the graphic constituents of the syllable OM by the five elements,⁴⁴⁶ a work by a Somarāja, pupil of Bhojarāja and grand-

⁴⁴³ See footnote 89 on p. 264 (Ojarāja); p. 275 (Eraka's *Kramastotra*); p. 278 (Hrasvanātha's commentary on the *Kramastotra*); p. 319 (a commentary on the *Kramastotra* by the author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa*); p. 278 (an unnamed work by Hrasvanātha); p. 278 (unnamed commentators on the *Kramastotra*); p. 354 (the *Kramakeli*); p. 361 (the *Devīstotravivarāṇa*); p. 275 (the **Kramavamsāvalī*); p. 296 (Prabodha's lost hymn or hymns); p. 308 (the *Rājikā* and *Pūjātilaka*); p. 308 (some unidentified Krama scriptures and the *Stotramālā*); p. 319 (a work on the oral instructions); p. 346 (Bhaṭṭāraka's *Prākṛtatrimśikāvivarāṇa*); p. 328 (Ramyadeva's *Akulakālikātrimśikā* and *Akramakallolakārikā*); p. 328 (a hymn by the son of Ramyadeva); and p. 353 (a hymn by Rāma).

⁴⁴⁴ *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, p. 42, ll. 11–15 (*yathoktaṃ kramasūtreṣu*).

⁴⁴⁵ *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, p. 30, ll. 6–7 (*yathā coktaṃ sahaśacamatkāraparijanitākṛtakādareṇa bhāṭṭadāmodareṇa vimuktakeṣu*), emending *vāmeśādyāḥ* to *vāmeśyādyāḥ*.

⁴⁴⁶ The commentary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa*, p. 32, ll. 8–12: *yat siddhapādā ādidiṣuḥ: pithiva āpā *ti* (em. : *tā* Ed.) *teju takāru su vātaśatti tiryaga *avayava ti* (corr. : *avayavati* Ed.) | *nabhu rā pañca *akāru su ehuya siṣṭipasarū ākalati* (Skt.: *prthivy āpas tejaś ca takāro vātaśaktir tiryagavayavaś ca. nabho raḥ. pañca akāraḥ. eṣa eva sṛṣṭiprasara ākalyate*) 'Earth, water, and fire are the *ta* [shape], the power of air the cross-stroke, and ether the *ra* [shape]. The five [combined] make the character *a*. It is this that is considered the source of creation'. The character *a* in the Kashmirian script (Śāradā) can indeed be visualized in this way, as a *ta* with a *ra* pendent from the right end of its horizontal head-stroke and the two connected at their middle by a short cross-stroke. The first Pāda is quoted again at p. 60, l. 1 and attributed to 'the Siddha' *siddhasya subhāṣitam*. It is perhaps the source of this verse that the author of the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa* has in mind when he refers to the Sūtras of the Siddha (*siddhasūtrāṇi*) for the view that practising the Krama worship in full bestows supernatural abilities (8.28ab): *pūjanāt khecaraṭvaṃ hi siddhasūtreṣu gadyate. ātmajñānāt pravartante yatheccham aṇimādayaḥ* 'For it is stated in the *Siddhasūtra* that worship leads to the ability to travel through the air. Self-realization enables one to manifest at will the [eight] supernatural powers, such as the ability to contract one's size'.

pupil of Hrasvanātha,⁴⁴⁷ a work by an unknown spiritual descendant of Naver-
akanātha, one of the pupils of Keyūravatī,⁴⁴⁸ and the *Kālikākrama*.

I have suggested above that the *Kālikākrama* may have been a scriptural
text, though the verses cited lack the vocatives indicative of dialogue and any
of the deviations from Paninian norms that would prove this.⁴⁴⁹ A certain lack
of concision and awkwardness of expression suggest that it may be a work at-
tributed to supernatural revelation rather than claimed by a human author. But
they too prove nothing conclusively. In any case, the text shows a concern with
philosophical dialectic that is conspicuously lacking in the other scriptures of
the Krama. These qualities are evident in a passage that expounds the doctrine
that the phenomena of experience have no reality apart from cognition:⁴⁵⁰

Cognition manifests itself both internally and externally in the form of various
[phenomena]. The objects [of the mind and senses] have no existence apart
from cognition. Therefore the world is of the nature of cognition. For no-one
has ever witnessed the existence of an object apart from the cognition [of it].
Therefore it is settled that cognition itself has become these [objects]. By force
of the contemplation of phenomena the identity with cognition that pertains
to its objects [is established,] by means of negation and assertion with regard to
the distinction between “is” and “is not”. Cognition and its object have a single
nature because they are experienced simultaneously.

The probable meaning of the awkwardly phrased penultimate sentence is that
the existence of objects is inseparable from cognition because they are seen only
when cognition is present and not when it is absent (*anvayavyatirekābhyaṃ*).
There is nothing specific to the Krama in this, though Krama authors shared
this view with other Śaiva non-dualists and may well have been the first to adopt
and adapt it from Buddhist circles.⁴⁵¹ However, the Krama background of the

⁴⁴⁷ *Tantrāloka*, vol. 3, pp. 196, l. 13–197, l. 4: two verses in praise of Vāmana (Hras-
vanātha) and Bhojarāja.

⁴⁴⁸ *Tantrāloka*, vol. 3, pp. 196, ll. 1–10: two verses in praise of Keyūravatī and Naver-
akanātha.

⁴⁴⁹ See p. 254.

⁴⁵⁰ *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 118, ll. 1–7: *kālikākrame 'pi: tattadrūpatayā jñānaṃ bahir antaḥ
prakāśate | jñānād r̥te nārthasattā jñānarūpaṃ tato jagat | na hi jñānād r̥te bhāvāḥ kenacid
viśayīkṛtāḥ | jñānaṃ tadātmatāṃ yātaṃ etasmād avasīyate | astināstivibhāgena niṣedhavidhiyo-
gataḥ | jñānātmatā jñeyaniṣṭhā bhāvānāṃ bhāvanābalāt | yugapadvedanāj jñānājñeyayor ekarū-
patā*.

⁴⁵¹ The *Kālikākrama*'s position that cognition and its object have a single nature because
they are experienced simultaneously no doubt rests on the oft-cited principle stated by
Dharmakīrti in *Pramāṇaviniścaya* 1.55ab (VETTER 1966, p. 94): *lhan cig dmigs pa nges pa'i
phyir | sngon dang de blo gzhan ma yin* (*sahopalambhaniyamād abhedo nilataddhiyoḥ* [qu., e.g.,

text is apparent in the use of the expression *kālagrāsaḥ* 'devouring of time' in the following:⁴⁵²

A meditator will attain the state of Nirvāṇa if by rejecting the mental activities of "is" and "is not", resorting to the inner state [between those two], and transcending through non-duality the net of conceptual constructions, higher and lower, he rests always content in himself alone, intent solely on devouring time, immersed in the state of transcendental solitude.

In *Tantrāloka* 29.43 Abhinavagupta refers to "other Gurus and consorts taught in the *Kālikula*", saying that they should be called to mind though not explicitly worshipped in the system of Kaula Trika worship that he outlines in this chapter.⁴⁵³ Commenting on this Jayaratha cites a passage of an unnamed work by Abhinavagupta which identifies these as the five Gurus Viśvayoni, Jagadyoni, Bhāvayoni, Prajāpatiyoni and Kulayoni, and their five consorts Vīryayoni, Kṣobhayoni, Bījayoni, Sṛṣṭiyoni, and Sargayoni.⁴⁵⁴ They are derived from the sequence of worship taught for the phase of Emission in the Krama's *Kālikulapañcaśataka* and in no other source.⁴⁵⁵ This, then, may be from an otherwise unknown work by Abhinavagupta on the Krama.

THE TRIKA

I pass now from the Krama and Abhinavagupta's Trika-based Krama to the Trika itself. The defining feature of its scriptures is that they teach the propitiation of the triad of goddesses Parā/Māṛṣadbhāva, Paraparā and Aparā, who are

Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa p. 32]) 'The blue [object] and the cognition of it are not other, because they are invariably cognized together'.

⁴⁵² *Sivasūtravimarśinī*, pp. 133, l. 12–134, l. 2: *nirasya sadasadvṛttiḥ saṁśṛitya padam āntaram | vihāya kalpanājālam advaitena parāparam | yaḥ svātmanirato nityam kālagrāsaikatatparah | kaivalyapadabhāg yogī sa nirvāṇapadam labhet*. The term *kālagrāsaḥ* is found *passim* in the Krama texts. It also appears in the works of Abhinavagupta (*Mālinīvijayavārtika* 1.152–156; *Parātriśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 256, ll. 13–14; and *Tantrāloka* 1.98cd) but no doubt under Krama influence.

⁴⁵³ 29.43ab: *anyās ca tatpatnyah śrīmatkālikuloditāḥ*; 29.45ab: *te viśeṣān na sampūjyāḥ smartavyā eva kevalam*.

⁴⁵⁴ *Tantrāloka* 29.43ab, vol. 11, Āhnika 29, p. 33, ll. 10–11: *yad uktam anenaiva: viśvam jagad bhāvam atho prajāpati kulam tataḥ | yonīśabdāntakam proktam gurūṇaṁ pañcakam tv idam | vīryam kṣobho bījam sṛṣṭiḥ sarga itīmāḥ śaktaya uktāḥ*.

⁴⁵⁵ *Kālikulapañcaśataka* A, f. 12r (3.19–21a): *tathānyam śṛṇu saṁkṣepāḍḍ durvijñeyam mahesvara | viśvayoniṁ jagadyoniṁ bhavayoniṁ prajāpatim | pañcamam kulayoniṁ ca patnīs teṣāṁ śṛṇuṣva me | retayoniṁ bījayoniṁ sṛjyaṁ sṛṣṭim tathaiva ca | pañcamam kṣobhayoniṁ ca*.

enthroned, both in the Trika's initiation Maṇḍala and in the visualization that is a component of regular worship, on three lotuses resting on the tips of the prongs of a trident, with Parā/Mātṛsadbhāva in the centre and the other two to her right and left.⁴⁵⁶

Both the Kālīkula and the Krama had influenced the Trika by the time of the exegetes. The later Trika scripture *Devīyāmala* had incorporated Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī as a fourth goddess above the three of the older tradition, a variant of Trika worship that is also found within the encyclopaedic scriptural tradition of the Kālīkula itself; and the *Trikasadbhāva* had added the Kālīs seen in the Krama's phase of the Nameless to the pantheon installed in the Trika's Maṇḍala.⁴⁵⁷

While in the Krama we have an internally differentiated tradition with numerous authors, in the exegesis of the Trika proper we have only the works of a single author, Abhinavagupta, all on a single scripture, the *Mālinīvijayottara*. The principal of these works are, in the order of their composition, the *Mālinīvijayavārtika* and the *Tantrāloka*. A third commentary, the *Śrīpūrvapañcikā*, survives only in citation.⁴⁵⁸ The first, comprising two chapters of 1135 and 335 verses respectively, declares itself a commentary on the opening verse of the *Mālinīvijayottara* but accomplishes this commentary in a form that covers the contents of the whole work, the first chapter covering the first seventeen chapters of the scripture and the second the rest. The *Tantrāloka*, comprising 5859 verses in thirty-seven chapters (Āhnikas), offers itself as a comprehensive Pad-dhati on the Trika taught in the *Mālinīvijayottara*. Much that is in the *Mālinīvijayavārtika* appears again more or less revised in the *Tantrāloka*,⁴⁵⁹ but there is important material in the former that was not repeated or reformulated, most notably the section 1.15–399, which presents a metaphysical explanation of the origin and differentiation of the principal divisions of the Śaiva scriptures, based, I propose, on the account of the canon given in the lost Śaiva scripture *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasamhitā* *Śrīkaṇṭhī* in a long passage preserved in the *Nityādi-*

⁴⁵⁶See SANDERSON 1986.

⁴⁵⁷On the influence of the Kālīkula and Krama on the scriptural Trika and the existence of variants of Trika worship in the Kālīkula itself see SANDERSON 1986, pp. 188–204 and SANDERSON 1990, pp. 58–64. In the former I have called these two developments Trika IIa and Trika IIb.

⁴⁵⁸All that survives of the *Śrīpūrvapañcikā* without doubt is a passage quoted and attributed by Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 23.75 (*etadvivarāṇe eva pañcikāyām*). Abhinavagupta refers to it twice in his *Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa* (p. 194, ll. 17–19; p. 205, ll. 21–22).

⁴⁵⁹On the priority of the *Mālinīvijayavārtika* see SANDERSON 2005, p. 142, footnote 24.

saṃgrahapaddhati of Rājānaka Takṣakavarta.⁴⁶⁰

The *Tantrāloka* is not a Paddhati in the narrow sense, that is to say, a detailed practical guide to the performance of the system's rituals. Rather it builds on the basis of the *Mālinīvijayottara* a theory-rich account of his vision of the Trika's teaching of the nature of ultimate reality and the means of its realization. These means include ritual, but since Abhinavagupta held to the view, in opposition to the Saiddhāntikas, that it is knowledge rather than ritual that liberates, he also teaches methods that do not descend to the level of ritual performance and rationalizes ritual itself as a process of cultivating the insight that in his higher methods comes about through direct, non-conceptual intuition or the gradual refinement of a conceptual awareness of ultimate reality (*vikalpasamśkāraḥ*) to the point at which it transcends its conceptual character to become immediate experience (*sākṣātkāraḥ*).

He structures his account of the Trika's means of liberation in this way on the basis of three verses in the *Mālinīvijayottara* that define three modes of immersion in Śiva: non-conceptual (*śāmbhavaḥ samāveśaḥ*), through conceptual thought alone (*śāktaḥ samāveśaḥ*), and through meditational and ritual activity (*āṇavaḥ*).⁴⁶¹ In the first chapter he sets out the fundamentals of his soteriology and its metaphysical basis, defining the three modes of immersion, adding a transcendent fourth, immersion without method (*anupāyaḥ samāveśaḥ*), meaning by that a sudden direct self-realization that once established requires no further application of means to sustain it. The second is devoted to this mode of self-realization, the third to non-conceptual immersion (*śāmbhavaḥ samāveśaḥ*), and the fourth to immersion through thought alone (*śāktaḥ samāveśaḥ*). The methods that constitute immersion through meditational and ritual activity (*āṇavaḥ samāveśaḥ*) are explained in chapters 5 and following. The meditational methods are taught first. The fifth chapter teaches visualization of the flow of the powers of consciousness through the faculties (*dhyānam*), meditation on the flow of the vital energies (*prāṇatattvasamuccāraḥ*) with the help of the Mantras SAUḤ and KHPHREṀ, meditation on these and other syllables (*varṇatattvam*), and internal Yogic posture (*karaṇam*). The remaining methods are gathered under the heading *sthānakalpanā* 'visualizing the positioning of internal structures in external substrates'. Chapter 6 teaches how the cycles of

⁴⁶⁰ A transcript of this account has been published in HANNEDER 1998, pp. 237–268 from MS Stein Or. d. 43 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This is a copy of the manuscript of the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati* listed here in the bibliography.

⁴⁶¹ *Mālinīvijayottara* 2.21–23.

external time and, by extension, the sounds of the syllabary circulate internally in the vital energy. Chapter 7 shows how the sequences of Mantras of various kinds are to be mastered by contemplative repetition within the cyclical flow of the breath (*cakrodayaḥ*). Chapters 8–11 explain the order of worlds (*bhuvanādhvā*) (8), the order of the Tattvas (*tattvādhvā*) (9), the correlation between the order of the Tattvas and the *Mālinīvijayottara*’s hierarchy of the categories of perceiver (*pramātā*) (10), and the order of the five Tattva-segments (*kalādhvā*) (11). These chapters look both backwards and forwards: backwards in as much as these structures of the worlds, Tattvas, and Tattva-segments are seen as arrayed within the microcosm, forwards in as much as a precise knowledge of these structures is ancillary to the officiant’s performance of initiation, whose treatment will follow. Chapters 13 and 14 are preliminary to the discussion of that topic. The first analyses the nature of the ‘descent of [Śiva’s] power’ (*śaktipātaḥ*) that leads to liberation, directly or through initiation, and the second analyses the nature of the absence of this descent, the state of occlusion (*tirobhāvaḥ*) that holds consciousness in bondage.⁴⁶²

The external practices of ritual, beginning with initiation, are the principal subject matter from the 15th chapter to the 33rd. Chapter 15 teaches the ritual of worship in the form that it is to take when done by an officiant as a preliminary to initiation, the neophyte’s initiation known as the *samayadīkṣā*, and the rules of discipline that bind all initiates. The following chapters cover the full initiation known as the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* (16–17), an abbreviated form of initiation (18), the form of initiation to be performed for those close to death (*sadyonirvāṇadīkṣā*) (19), the procedure known as scales-initiation (*tulādīkṣā*, *dhatādīkṣā*) (20), initiation for the dead (*mṛtoddhārī dīkṣā*) (21), initiation after conversion from another faith (*liṅgoddhārādīkṣā*) (22), the rituals for the consecration to office of Gurus and Sādhakas (*ācāryābhīṣekaḥ*, *sādhakābhīṣekaḥ*) (23), initiation during cremation (*antyestīdīkṣā*) (24), and the ritual of making offerings to the deceased (*śrāddhavidhiḥ*) (25). Chapters 26 and 27 teach the ritual of daily worship to be performed by initiates for the rest of their lives, including the procedure for the consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of Liṅgas and other substrates of personal worship. Chapter 28 covers worship to be offered on special occasions (*naimittikavidhiḥ*) requiring the assembling and gratification of initiates and Yoginīs (*cakrayāgaḥ*), procedures for gaining encounters with Yoginīs (*yoginīmelakaḥ*), the procedures to be adopted in the Guru’s regular teaching

⁴⁶²See *Tantrāloka* *viveka*, vol. 4, p. 2, ll. 1–6.

of the scriptures (*vyākhyāvidhiḥ*), penances (*prāyaścittavidhiḥ*), and the ritual of the worship of the Guru (28). Having completed his treatment of the rituals of the basic form of the Trika, he devotes the 29th chapter to worship, initiation, and consecration in a higher, Kaula form of the same. It is in this context that he sets out as an option the system of Kālīkula worship taught in the *Mādhavakula* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s fourth *Ṣaṭka*. He then covers the Mantras (30), Maṇḍalas (31), and Mudrās (32) of the system, and summarizes the sets of the Trika's ancillary deities (33), thus bringing his treatment of ritual to its end. Chapters 34 to 36 explain the relationship between the three methods of immersion (34), and give an account of the hierarchy of revelation (35) and of the transmission of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, of which the *Mālinīvijayottara* was considered to be the essence (36). Abhinavagupta ends his treatise with a chapter on the value of his composition (*śāstropādeyatvam*) (37). He states the position of the *Mālinīvijayottara* in the Śaiva canon: above the Saiddhāntika scriptures are those of Bhairava; within those the highest are the texts of the Śākta-orientated Vidyāpīṭha; of those the foremost is the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*; and the *Mālinīvijayottara* is the latter's ultimate distillation. The value of the *Tantrāloka*, then, lies in his view in the fact that as the systematic exposition of the teachings of this Tantra it conveys the highest essence of the entire Śaiva revelation. He ends with an account of his patrilineal descent from Atrigupta, a learned brahmin of Madhyadeśa who was settled in Kashmir by King Lalitāditya (r. c. 725–761/2), of his intellectual history, the various Gurus who had taught him, and the circle of his disciples. Within the framework of this encyclopaedic treatment he has inserted numerous incidental discussions. Particularly noteworthy are his treatments of the metaphysical basis of the Sanskrit syllabary (*mātrkācakram*) in the 3rd chapter, of the gradations of Guru-hood in the 4th, of causality in the 9th, of objectivity (*vedyatā*) in the 10th, and of the nature of death and the destinies of the soul thereafter in the 28th.

Though the *Tantrāloka* is based on the *Mālinīvijayottara* it reaches far beyond that source to draw on a great number of scriptural texts from the whole range of the Śaiva Mantramārga. Among texts of the Trika he cites principally the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the *Trīśirobhairava* [= *Anāmaka*], the *Devīyāmala*, the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the *Kularatnamālā*, the *Trikasadbhāva*, the *Trikasāra*, the *Bhairavakula*, the *Virāvalī*, and the *Parātrīśikā*. From the Kālīkula he cites the *Mādhavakula*, the *Kramasadbhāva*, the *Ūrmikaulārṇava*/*Bhogahasta*, the *Kālīkula*, and the *Kālīmukha*.⁴⁶³ The identity of the *Kālīkula* is not certain, but it

⁴⁶³ Abhinavagupta refers to a text with this name as his source for the option of using a

is very probably the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*.⁴⁶⁴ He also cites a number of Kaula texts of uncertain affiliation: the *Ānandeśvara*, the *Utpullaka*, the *Kulagahvara*, the *Kramarahasya*, the *Khacarimata*, the *Gama*, the *Tattvarakṣāvidhāna*, the *Nandiśikhā*, the *Nirmāyāda*, the *Nisāṭana/Niśisaṃcāra*, the *Bhargasikhā*, the *Yogasamcāra*, the *Yoginika*, the *Yonyarnava*, the *Sarvavīra/Sarvācāra*, and the *Haidara*. Descending below this level in his hierarchy of revelation he draws on the *Picumatal/Brahmayāmala*, the principal scripture of the Yāmala division, and in the Dakṣiṇa division on the *Svacchanda* to a great extent and incidentally on the *Aghoreśvarīsvacchanda*. Among scriptures of the Siddhānta he cites the *Kacabhārgava*, the *Kāmika*, the *Kālottara*, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Dikṣottara*, the *Niḥśvāsa*, the *Parākhya*, the *Paṣkara*, the *Matāṅga*, the *Mayasamgraha*, the *Mukutottara*, the *Rauravasūtrasamgraha*, the *Sarvajñānottara*, and the *Svāyam-*

sword, dagger, knife or clear mirror as one's substrate of worship (*Tantrāloka* 27.44): *khaḍgam kṛpāṇikāṃ yad vā kartarīm makuraṃ ca vā | vimalaṃ tat tathā kuryāc chrīmatkālimukhoditam*. No text of this name has been mentioned elsewhere in the literature known to me, but it is no doubt either the *Kālikula* or a text closely related to it. For we have a close parallel in *Kālikulapañcaśataka* A, f. 18r5 (4.73), referring to the worship of the phase of Withdrawal: *athavā churikāṃ sthāpya kartarīm vā sudāruṇām | mahāmukuraprṣṭhe* (em. : *mahāmukutaprṣṭhe* Cod.) *tu pūjyā saṃhārabbhairavi*.

⁴⁶⁴His quotation of the *Kālikula* in *Tantrāloka* 35.33–34 (*śrīmatkālikule cōktaṃ pañcasrotovivarijitaṃ | daśāṣṭādaśabhedasya sārāṃ etat prakīrtitaṃ | puṣpe gandhas tile tailaṃ debe jīvo jale mṛtaṃ | yathā tathāiva śāstrāṇāṃ kulam antaḥ pratiṣṭhitaṃ*) appears to be a condensed citation of *Kālikulapañcaśataka* B, f. 27r4–v1 (2.35–38): *etat rahasyaṃ paramaṃ kulam jñātaṃ na kenacit | śaivād bhāgyam idaṃ deva pañcasrotovinirgatam | 36 daśāṣṭādaśabhedasya śaivasya paramaśvara | antarlīnam idaṃ jñānaṃ na jñātaṃ tridaśeśvaraiḥ | 37 sarvatra saṃsthitam deva sugūḍham kulam uttamam | puṣpe gandha ivāśaktaṃ tailaṃ yadvat tilādiṣu | 38 tathāiva sarvaśāstrāṇāṃ kulam antaḥ pratiṣṭhitaṃ*. The citation in 13.306 (**kālikulavidhau* [conj. : *kulakālīvidhau* Ed.] *cōktaṃ vaiṣṇavānāṃ viśeṣataḥ | bhasmaniṣṭhāprapannānām ityādaṃ naiva yogyatā*) is close to *Kālikulapañcaśataka* A, f. 29v3–5 (7.51c–53b): *tāntrikāṇāṃ na śaivānāṃ na dadyād vaiṣṇavātmanāṃ | bhasmaniṣṭhāprapannānām asthimālādīdhārīṇāṃ | vedoktādikriyārūḍhidānadharmatapojuṣām | tīrthāśramaprapannānām na deyaṃ pāramārthikam*, with the *Kālikula*'s *vaiṣṇavānāṃ viśeṣataḥ* being seen in a parallel passage in the *Devīdvyaḍhaśatikā*, f. 4v4–5 (41c–42): *tantrācāratānāṃ ca siddhāntādikriyānvitāṃ | vedoktādikriyārūḍhāṃ vaiṣṇavānāṃ viśeṣataḥ | *laukikānāṃ* (conj. [supported by *Kālikākrama* redaction: *laukikā ca*] : *kaulikānāṃ* Cod.) *kriyā*yuktāṃ* (em. [Aiśa gen. pl.] : *yuktās* Cod.) *tebhya *rakṣyaṃ* (corr. : *rakṣaṃ* Cod.) *mahākramam*. In 28.14c–15b he includes the *Kālikula* among sources that give information on the Kaula days sacred to the Mothers (*kulaparva*) (*kulaparveti tad brūmo yathoktaṃ bhairave kule | haidare trikasadbhāve trikakālikulādike*). There is no such information in the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*. However, the reading is suspect since if *kālikulādike* is correct, the *trika-* that precedes is problematic, since it does not denote a specific text and no *Trikakālikula* is known or probable.

bhuvasūtrasamgraha, considering their prescriptions valid except where specific instructions in non-Saiddhāntika scriptures block their application for those initiated into the practice ordained in these more restricted traditions. His purpose is to formulate a position for the Trika that enables its followers to see it not merely as the highest revelation but as that which pervades and validates all others. The *Mālinīvijayottara* was a fitting base for this project for two principal reasons. The first is that it offers a bridge from the Śākta ground of this exegesis to the Siddhānta since it shows striking continuities with the latter system. The second is that the 18th chapter of the *Mālinīvijayottara* could be read as formulating the view that while the hierarchy of revelation leads upwards to culminate in the Trika, the highest revelation within the Trika itself, to be found in this chapter, transcends transcendence by propagating the position that all forms of Śaiva practice, including that of the Siddhānta, are equally valid provided they are informed by the nondualistic awareness enjoined here.⁴⁶⁵

Though the *Tantrāloka* is a work of the Trika based on a text untouched by the Kālikula, Abhinavagupta reads the Kālikula-influenced strata of the tradition into the very core of his exegesis and develops this further in the light of post-scriptural Krama theory, though always doing so obliquely as though to conceal the purely Śākta ground of his Śaivism from profane eyes,⁴⁶⁶ as examples from the opening chapters are sufficient to demonstrate. Thus the opening benedictory verse of the work reveals this character by showing in a veiled matter that the author's chosen deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) is Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī.⁴⁶⁷ In the first chapter he alludes to the twelve Kālīs as the fullest expression of Bhairava's nature, presenting them in a syncretistic fashion as the three principal goddesses of the Trika subdivided by emission, stasis, withdrawal, and the [nameless] fourth.⁴⁶⁸ In the third chapter, after defining the twelve vowels from A to

⁴⁶⁵On the hierarchical unity of the Mantramārga as formulated by Abhinavagupta and his commentator and the position that the Trika ultimately neither enjoins nor forbids any particular form of Śaiva practice, requiring only that the method adopted, whether it be, for example, the Saiddhāntika's Liṅga worship or the Kaula's rejection of that worship, should be animated by non-dualistic awareness, see my commentary on the second of the opening verses of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrasāra* (SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 102–122).

⁴⁶⁶On the place of the Krama in Abhinavagupta's Trika see SANDERSON 1995, pp. 53–62.

⁴⁶⁷See SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 101–102.

⁴⁶⁸*Tantrāloka* 1.107: *tasya śaktaya evaitās tisro bhānti parādikāḥ | sṛṣṭau sthitau laye turye tenaitā dvādaśoditāḥ*. Jayaratha on this verse, taking these twelve as the Kālīs beginning with Sṛṣṭikālī: *parādikās tisraḥ śaktayaḥ sṛṣṭau sthitau laye saṃbhāre turye anākhye ca bhānti ... ekaikasyāś cātūrūpyeṇa śrīrsṛṣṭikālyādyātmakatayā*.

AḤ (omitting Ṛ Ṛ Ḍ Ḍ) as the principal circle of Bhairava's powers, he equates them both with the twelve Kālīs of the Krama and with the twelve Yoginīs that form the retinue of Parā in the Trika.⁴⁶⁹ In the same chapter he equates the Trika's syllabary-goddess Mālinī with Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī as the highest state, saying that the first self-limitation that she manifests is that of her pairing with Bhairava, that is to say, of the relationship between her as power and him as the powerful, though in reality she transcends this duality.⁴⁷⁰ The fourth chapter's account of *śāktaḥ samāveśaḥ*, immersion in Śiva through the refinement of conceptual thought, is centred on an account of the rise in consciousness of these same Kālīs. Both the fourth and the fifth chapter teach the Krama's seed-syllable KṢPHREṀ on a par with the Trika's SAUḤ; and when in the fifth Abhinavagupta teaches meditation on the flow of the powers of consciousness through the faculties (*dhyānam*), the powers are again the twelve and though they are not explicitly identified with the Krama's Kālīs it is clear that they are to be understood as these.⁴⁷¹

On the *Tantrāloka* we have an extensive commentary written by Rājānaka Jayaratha in the thirteenth century.⁴⁷² It is of great value to the student of this text, since Jayaratha tries to cite in full the scriptural passages that Abhinavagupta frequently paraphrases in a condensed form. It has been described as exhaustive. But this is an exaggeration. The coverage is uneven and often cursory, especially on matters of ritual where we would be grateful for more information than he seems to have possessed. Moreover, a number of scriptural sources on which Abhinavagupta had drawn were no longer accessible to Jayaratha and his Kashmirian contemporaries. He never declares this fact and no doubt expected no one to be in a position to deduce it. It is only the survival of manuscripts of these texts in other parts of the sub-continent that enables us to see that he lacked access to them, since his interpretations of Abhinavagupta's terse paraphrases, though always unhesitating, are sometimes wrong.⁴⁷³ Nonethe-

⁴⁶⁹ *Tantrāloka* 3.251–254b.

⁴⁷⁰ *Tantrāloka* 3.232c–234; *eṣā vastuta ekaiva parā kālasya karṣiṇī | śaktimadbhedayogena yāmalatvaṃ prapadyate*.

⁴⁷¹ *Tantrāloka* 5.19c–36. Jayaratha on 5.26c–27b indicates that he takes the twelve to be the twelve Kālīs by saying that the nature of the twelve has not been elaborated here because that has already been done in the preceding chapter. This can only be a reference to the treatment of the twelve Kālīs in the fourth.

⁴⁷² On this dating see below, p. 420.

⁴⁷³ For a demonstration of some of these concealed lacunae in his knowledge see SANDERSON forthcoming *a*, in which these are considered in an analysis of the contraction of the knowledge-

less, within the limitations imposed on scholarship by a tradition obliged to maintain the fiction of undiminished knowledge, it is an impressive work. An earlier commentary by Subhaṭadatta, who gave initiation both to Jayaratha and to his father, the minister Śṛṅgārāratha,⁴⁷⁴ has been lost, no doubt because Jayaratha's commentary supplanted it.⁴⁷⁵

After writing his *Tantrāloka* Abhinavagupta produced in his *Tantrasāra* a condensed and simplified coverage of its teachings for the benefit of those unable to master that long and much more complicated work. His *Tantroccaya*, probably written after the *Tantrasāra*, offers an even briefer version. These two works stay close to the content of the *Tantrāloka*, but not to such an extent that we can see them as mere summaries. Thus in his treatment of Kaula worship in the 29th chapter of the *Tantrāloka* Abhinavagupta teaches two Paddhatis, one based on the Mantras of the Trika and the other, as we have seen, drawn from the *Mādhavakula* of the Kālikula. But in the *Tantrasāra* he substitutes a Paddhati based on the *Parātrīṣikā*, while in the *Tantroccaya* he prescribes a form of Krama worship in which Caṇḍayogeśvarī – this is the name under which the Goddess is invoked in the Krama's principal Mantras – is worshipped as the thirty-eighth Tattva enthroned above Bhairava, the thirty-seventh (above the thirty-six from Śiva to Earth of the common Śaiva model), as the source of all emissions and resorptions, either surrounded by her retinue of twelve [Kālīs] or solitary, as their totality.⁴⁷⁶

There is also the *Tantravāṭadhānikā*, a brief review of the contents of the *Tantrāloka* in 99 verses, mostly restricted to what is covered in the first five chapters of that work. Its author identifies himself in the opening and closing verses as Abhinavagupta, but the attribution is doubtful, unless we take this to be another author with the same name. Two verses (2.1–2) have been cited by

base of Kashmirian Śaivism in the period between Abhinavagupta and recent times.

⁴⁷⁴ *Tantrāloka* *viveka*, concluding verses 35–39.

⁴⁷⁵ From Jayaratha's brother Jayadratha we have the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, a collection of accounts of Śiva's deeds in the world of men, the majority of which are told in versions that associate them with local sites of pilgrimage and the local religious calendar. The Śaivism of initiates transcends this level of common observance. But Jayadratha integrates it by introducing these narratives with verses that present their content as symbolic of the higher truths taught in the Śaiva scriptures.

⁴⁷⁶ *Tantroccaya*, p. 177: *tatra śaktitrayātmā yo 'sau paramaśivaḥ saptatrimśo bhairavas tam apy ullaighya tam āsanapakṣīkṛtyāṣṭātrimśattamī yāsau bhagavatī paramasaṃvid uktā saiva *caṇḍayogeśvaryātmikā* (corr. : *caṇḍayogīśvaryātmikā* Cod.) *viśvagrāsasṛṣṭicakravāhinī *dvādaśābhīr* (corr. : *dvādaśābhīr* Ed.) *maricirūpābhīr devatābhīḥ saha kevalā vā viśvābhedaḥ pūjyā*.

Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 2.2, but without attribution. If he had thought them to be the work of Abhinavagupta then we would expect him to have said so, that being his habit. The colophon of the *Tantravāṭadhānikā* supports this doubt, since it attributes it to ‘a certain Ācārya Abhinavagupta’ (*śrīmadabhinavaguptācāryaviśeṣa-*), an expression that evidently does not refer to the famous author of the *Tantrāloka*.

We also have an extensive prose commentary (*-vivarāṇa*) by Abhinavagupta on the *Parātrīśikā*, a short text teaching a form of the Trika known as the Anuttara, Ekavīra, or Parākrama, in which a simplified, essentializing form of worship and meditation is directed to Parā alone and her seed-syllable SAUḤ. This commentary was written between the *Mālinīvijayavārtika* and the *Tantrāloka*.⁴⁷⁷ A much shorter and markedly less brilliant commentary on this text, the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti/Anuttaravimarśinī*, has been published as his. But I see no reason to accept the attribution and good reasons not to do so.⁴⁷⁸ The work is probably South Indian.⁴⁷⁹ We also have a short commentary (*-vivṛti*) on the text written by the Kashmirian Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma, also called Rājāna Lasaka/Lāsaka (Lasa Kāk Rāzdān), at some time near the end of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth. But this is ignorant of, or chooses to overlook, the true character of the text as instruction in the worship of, and meditation on, the Mantra of the Trika’s Parā, wrongly taking the Mantra to be the Aghora, that is to say, the thirty-two-syllable Mantra of [Sakala-]Svacchandabhairava,⁴⁸⁰ thus assimilating the text to the *Svacchanda*-based cult of that deity, which, as we shall see, appears to have been the most widely established form of Śaiva ritual practice in Kashmir down to modern times. A verse in praise of that deity is the first of the two final verses of the work. His engagement with the tradition of the *Svacchanda* and *Netra* is evi-

⁴⁷⁷ On the place of the *Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa* in the order of Abhinavagupta’s works see SANDERSON 2005, p. 124, footnote 88.

⁴⁷⁸ See SANDERSON 2005a, p. 142, footnote 24.

⁴⁷⁹ The attribution is already seen in the *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* of the South Indian Maheśvarānanda (pp. 8, 52, 66, 114), who refers to it as the *Trīśikāśāstravimarśinī* (p. 114). His date remains to be determined, but from the sources he cites we can see that he cannot have been earlier than the twelfth century. On this form of the Trika in south India see SANDERSON 1990, pp. 32–34, 80–82.

⁴⁸⁰ *Parātrīśikāvivṛti*, p. 14 on v. 26: *aghoramantreṇa ca saptaviṃśativāram aṣṭottaraśatākṣamālā-pādena mantritām*; p. 15 on 28: *caturdaśavāram aghorābhijāptena puṣpena*; p. 16 on 30c–32b: *maheśvarīm parām devīm aghoramantreṇa parayā bhaktyā atyādareṇa pūjayet*; pp. 11–12 on v. 21 imposes the *Svacchanda*’s system of worlds (*bhuvanāni*).

denced by a composite manuscript which contains among a number of short Śaiva texts two attributed to this author: a **Niṣkalasvacchandadhyānavivaraṇa*, an analysis in twenty-two lines of a verse of the *Svacchandoddyota* that is used in the Kashmirian Paddhatis for the visualization accompanying the plenary oblation (*pūrṇāhutiḥ*) of Niṣkalasvacchanda, and an **Amṛteśvaradhyānavivaraṇa* in seventeen lines on the opening verse of the *Netroddyota*, which is used in the same context for Amṛteśvarabhairava.⁴⁸¹

Two other works by Abhinavagupta, though not narrowly tied to the Trika in a technical sense, were written on its basis. These are the *Bodhapañcadaśikā* and the *Paramārthasāra*, a Śaiva rewriting of the Sāṃkhya-Vedāntic *Paramārthasāra/Ādhārakārikā* attributed to Śeṣamuni. The latter has come down to us with a commentary by the ascetic Yogarāja, a pupil of Abhinavagupta's pupil Kṣemarāja,⁴⁸² who has also given us the *Śivāṣṭaka*, a hymn to Caitanyaśiva, 'the Śiva who is Consciousness'. While the commentary on the *Paramārthasāra* is devoid of esoteric references, the hymn reflects the Krama-orientated idiom of the author's teacher Kṣemarāja.⁴⁸³

Several other short works have been attributed to Abhinavagupta. Among these the *Paramārthadvādaśikā*, the *Mahopadeśavimśatika*, and the *Rahasyapa-*

⁴⁸¹ See **Niṣkalasvacchandadhyānavivaraṇa*, f. 91v3 (colophon): *iti rājānakalasakākena vivaraṇam viracitam* (the verse is *Svacchandoddyota*, vol. 3, p. 177, ll. 16–19); and *Amṛteśvaradhyānavivaraṇa*, f. 91v17 (colophon): *iti lasakākakṛtā vivṛtiḥ*. For the use of these verses in the Paddhatis see, e.g., *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati*, pp. 256–257.

⁴⁸² The Trika in the technical sense, as opposed to the philosophical discourse of the Pratyabhijñā texts, appears at the end of the *Bodhapañcadaśikā* (v. 15) in a reference to Bhairava, the identity of all things, seated on a lotus above the trident of the three powers of creative impulse, cognition, and action [i.e. Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā], and in the *Paramārthasāra* in (1) v. 4 (see also v. 41) in its reference to the four spheres (*aṇḍacatuṣṭayam*) that constitute the created universe, those of Śakti, Māyā, Prakṛti, and Earth, which is a classification drawn from and distinctive of the Trika's *Mālinīvijayottara* (2.49); and (2) vv. 43–46, which should be understood as a metaphysical reading of SAUḤ, the seed-syllable of the Trika's goddess Parā (cf. *Tantrāloka* 4.186c–189b for this encoding).

⁴⁸³ This orientation is apparent in the *Śivāṣṭaka*'s two opening verses, f. 9r16–20: *yo 'ntaś *caran* (em. : *carat* Cod.) *prāṇabhṛtām hṛdabje dhvanaty abhikṣṇam bhramarāyamāṇaḥ | aśnamś ca śabdādīparāgam uccaiḥ namo 'stu caitanyaśivāya tasmai | 2 svadīdhitinām karaṇeśvarīṇām cid-arkamūrṭiḥ samudetya madhye | grāsīkaroty eṣa haṭhāt trilokīm namo 'stu caitanyaśivāya tasmai |* 'Obeisance to Caitanyaśiva, who resonates constantly like a bee in the lotus of the heart, moving within all living creatures and eagerly devouring the pollen of the objects of the senses. Obeisance to Caitanyaśiva. Behold: as the sun that is consciousness rises up in the midst of his rays, the goddesses that are the faculties [of sense-perception and action], he violently devours the three worlds [that are the objects, means, and agent of cognition]'.

ñcadaśikā are certainly not his. The first is the work of Ramyadeva;⁴⁸⁴ and the second and third are evidently South Indian compositions.⁴⁸⁵ The attribution of the *Anubhavanivedanastotra* and the *Dehasthadevatācakraṣṭotra* rests on oral report alone, and the subject of the latter, the mental worship of Ānandabhairava and his consort Ānandabhairavī surrounded by the eight Mothers, has no parallel in Abhinavagupta's other works. The *Paryantapañcāśikā* is attributed to Abhinavagupta in its colophon, but it has not been cited in any Kashmirian source, nor has it come down to us, to my knowledge, in any Kashmirian manuscript. The manuscript transmission of the text is South Indian and the work appears to have been known only there.⁴⁸⁶ The *Anuttarāṣṭikā* and the *Paramārthacarcā*, survive in Kashmirian manuscripts with colophons that assert that Abhinavagupta is their author. But I know of no evidence that confirms this assertion. Nor am I aware of any that refutes it. However, the fact that Jayaratha cites a line from the former without attribution does not inspire confidence, since this goes against his usual practice when quoting Abhinavagupta.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴See footnote 309 on p. 328.

⁴⁸⁵The *Mahopadeśaviṃśatika* is for the most part a reworking and reframing of the first part (vv. 2–8) of the *Nirguṇamānasapūjā* (RAGHAVAN 1980, pp. 70–75), which is one of the more than 300 hymns ascribed to Śaṅkara in the South Indian Smārta tradition under the spiritual authority of the Śaṅkarācāryas of Śṛṅgerī and Kāñcī. On South Indian features in the *Rahasyapañcadaśikā* see SANDERSON 1990, pp. 34–35, footnote 21.

⁴⁸⁶The text was edited by V. RAGHAVAN on the basis of a manuscript in Trivandrum that appears to be a *codex unicus*. It is mentioned as a work of Abhinavagupta in v. 20 of the South Indian *Gurunāthaparāmarśa* of Madhurāja/Mādhura of Madurai, a verse found in both highly divergent recensions of the text, that of the Trivandrum manuscript and that of a copy of a Devanāgarī manuscript in private possession in Madras. It has been claimed that Madhurāja was a pupil of Abhinavagupta (PANDEY 1963, pp. 20–22) and if that were true this testimony would be compelling. But not one of the verses that mention Madhurāja/Mādhura is common to both recensions and none states that he was anything more than a devotee of Abhinavagupta's works and an adept in the Parākrama, the system of meditative worship taught in the *Parātrīśikā*. The only citations of the *Paryantapañcāśikā* that I have located are in the South Indian *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* of Maheśvarānanda, a work of c. 1300 (see pp. 414–418) and the South Indian *Īśvarapratyabhijñānavimarśinīvyākhyā*, folio sides 8, ll. 18–19 and 9, ll. 7–8. In none of these citations is the name of its author stated.

⁴⁸⁷*Anuttarāṣṭikā* 2a is cited without attribution in *Tantrālokaṭīkā*, vol. 3, p. 99, ll. 11–13: *anibaddhasya "saṃsāro sti na tattvatas tanubhṛtām bandhasya vārtaiva kā" ityādinyāyenālabdha-prarohasyāpi bandhasya kilanam ...*

THE PRATYABHIJÑĀ

All Abhinavagupta's exegesis proceeds on the basis of the doctrine of dynamic non-duality newly developed on slight scriptural foundations by Utpaladeva, the pupil of Somānanda, in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāṅkārikā*, its two auto-commentaries (the *-vṛttih* and the *-vivṛtiḥ*), the *Ajadapramāṭṛsiddhi*, the *Īśvarasiddhi*, the *Sambandhasiddhi*, and his commentary on Somānanda's *Śivadr̥ṣṭi*.⁴⁸⁸ That philosophically argued doctrine was transmitted through the latter's pupil Lakṣmaṇagupta to Abhinavagupta, who in the final phase of his Śaiva scholarship wrote commentaries on the key texts of this tradition:⁴⁸⁹ the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāsūtravimarśinī* on the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāṅkārikā*, and the vast *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivismarśinī* on the *Vivṛti*. Utpaladeva's works elaborate their position for the most part in the pan-Indian language of philosophical debate, eschewing the esoteric terminology of the Trika or Krama. Nonetheless, they were composed within a lineage of Gurus following those traditions. Somānanda wrote an analytic commentary (*-vivṛtiḥ*), now lost, on the Trika's *Parātrīśikā*,⁴⁹⁰ which Abhinavagupta studied before composing his own commentary on this text;⁴⁹¹ and Jayaratha claims that this lineage from Somānanda through Utpaladeva and Lakṣmaṇagupta to Abhinavagupta was versed both in the Trika and in the Krama of the *Kālikulapañcaśataka*.⁴⁹²

On Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* we have a commentary (*Bhāskari*) written by Rājānaka Bhāskarakaṇṭha in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.⁴⁹³ That author has also left us the *Cittānubodhaśāstra*, a com-

⁴⁸⁸ On Abhinavagupta's superimposition of this doctrine on the *Mālinīvijayottara* see SANDERSON 1992, pp. 291–306.

⁴⁸⁹ For the evidence that the philosophical commentaries were written after the Trika commentaries see SANDERSON 2005a, p. 124, footnote 88.

⁴⁹⁰ Abhinavagupta refers to it and quotes from it in his *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, pp. 191, ll. 28–30; 204, ll. 8–9; 206, ll. 10–11; 207, ll. 20–22; 208, ll. 1–2; 216, ll. 27–28; 218, ll. 7–8, 26; 220, ll. 6–12; 225, ll. 12–14; 255, l. 31–256, l. 4; 279, ll. 14–16.

⁴⁹¹ *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 285, ll. 29–30: *śṛisomānandamatam vimṛśya mayā nibaddham idam* 'I have composed this [commentary] after reflecting on Somānanda's understanding [of the text]'.
⁴⁹² *Tantrāloka*, vol. 3, p. 194, ll. 8–10: *śrīdevīpañcaśatike 'py asya śṛisomānandabhṭṭapādebhyaḥ prabhṛti trikadarśanavad asya guravaḥ* 'In the case of the *Devīpañcaśataka* too his [Abhinavagupta's] teachers were as in the case of [the scriptures of] the Trika, from the venerable Somānanda onwards'.

⁴⁹³ On his date see below, p. 424. There is also the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākaumudī* of one Bhaṭṭāraka Sundara. I have not yet seen it; and I have no information concerning its date.

mentary (-*tīkā*) on the Kashmirian *Mokṣopāya* (later expanded and vedānticized as the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*), and a free rendering into Sanskrit of Old Kashmiri Śaiva verses by Lal Dēd (*Lalleśvarivākyāni*).

EXEGESIS OF THE VĀMAKEŚVARĪMATA

From Jayaratha we have a commentary (-*vivaraṇa*) on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, also known as the *Nityāśoḍaśīkārṇava*, the primary scripture of the Kaula cult of the goddess Tripurasundarī. The commentary is technical, abounding in polemics against divergent views of the minutiae of ritual practice,⁴⁹⁴ and as such suggests that Jayaratha was a practitioner of this relatively new tradition rather than of the Trika or the Krama, though he makes no explicit statement to that effect. He also quotes in this commentary from another work of his in this tradition.⁴⁹⁵

He refers to a number of earlier Kashmirian scholars of this system of worship. He tells us that it was first propagated in Kashmir by Īśvaraśivācārya and Śaṅkararāśi, and then passed on through one Viśvāvarta to all subsequent Kashmirian lineages down to the time of Jayaratha himself.⁴⁹⁶ He also mentions in this tradition the exegetes Rājānaka Kalyāṇavarman,⁴⁹⁷ Allata,⁴⁹⁸ an unnamed author of a *Vārtika* (*vārtikakāraḥ*),⁴⁹⁹ his own Guru's Guru,⁵⁰⁰ and someone he refers to simply as the Guru.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁴ *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 1, v. 3: *parakṛtakukalpanāmayatimirāndhyāpohanāya manāk śrīvāmakeśvarīmatam uddyotayitum mamodyamo 'dyāyam* 'Today I commence this effort briefly to illuminate the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* in order to dispel the blindness caused by the darkness of the fanciful interpretations [of this text] produced by others'.

⁴⁹⁵ *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 58, ll. 8–12. On the relative modernity of this tradition see SANDERSON 1988, p. 689 (= 1990, p. 157).

⁴⁹⁶ *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 48, ll. 11–14: *vastuto hy asya darśanasya etad eva ācāryadya-yaṃ kasmīreṣv avatārakam. *tataś (em. : tanaś Ed.) śrīviśvāvartamukhenaiva lakṣyate yat tad evā-smatparyantaṃ śīsyapraśīsyakrameṇa sarveṣāṃ eva prāptam* 'For in fact it was these two Ācāryas that first propagated this system in Kashmir. It is their teaching, passed on through Viśvāvarta, that has been inherited by all without exception through a continuous succession of pupils and their pupils [and so on] down to myself'. In speaking of "these two Ācāryas" he is referring back to Īśvaraśivācārya, mentioned in p. 47, l. 15, and Śaṅkararāśi, mentioned in p. 48, l. 2.

⁴⁹⁷ *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 48, l. 8–9; p. 117, l. 25.

⁴⁹⁸ *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 54, l. 4.

⁴⁹⁹ *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 9, ll. 15–16; p. 12, ll. 19–23; p. 30, ll. 5–6

⁵⁰⁰ *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 19, ll. 6–15; p. 57, ll. 14–16.

⁵⁰¹ *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 20, ll. 4–9 (*guravo 'pi: ...*); p. 68, ll. 10–13 (*guravo 'pi: ...*). I

None of their works has come down to us. As for their dates, we know little beyond the fact that they are known to Jayaratha in the thirteenth century. PANDEY⁵⁰² dates the introduction of the system in Kashmir to the ninth century on the evidence (1) that Jayaratha quotes a verse which refers to Īśvaraśivācārya as the abbot of the Śūramaṭha (*śūramaṭhādhipatiḥ*)⁵⁰³ and (2) that the historian Kalhaṇa records that a Maṭha of this name was founded for the benefit of ascetics by Śūra, while he was the minister of king Avantivarman, who ruled from 855/6 to 883.⁵⁰⁴ I am unable to understand by what route other than thoughtlessness this scholar arrived at the unstated position that if Īśvaraśivācārya was abbot of this foundation then he must have been the first to hold that office and was therefore a contemporary of the founder. There is certainly no reason to think that the Śūramaṭha had only one abbot and then ceased to exist. On the contrary we know that it was still in existence in the eleventh century.⁵⁰⁵ The error is so blatant that it would be unnecessary to point it out were it not that, as so often happens in such cases, the date has been inadvertently repeated.⁵⁰⁶

As for the commentator Rājānaka Kalyāṇavarman, it is probable that he was Jayaratha's great-great-grandfather.⁵⁰⁷ If so, then his active life may be dated approximately to the years 1125–1175,⁵⁰⁸ and the introduction in Kashmir of the system of the worship of Tripurasundarī by Īśvaraśivācārya and Śaṅkararāśi to an unknown time before that, certainly after the founding of the Śūramaṭha and almost certainly after the time of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja, that is to say, after *c.* 1050, since neither author shows any knowledge of the existence of this tradition and its primary scripture. Abhinavagupta is aware of a Kaula

take these to be plurals of respect (*ādare bahuvacanam*).

⁵⁰²PANDEY 1963, p. 578.

⁵⁰³*Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, p. 48, ll. 19–20: *yad bhavanto 'pi: "śrīśūramaṭhādhipater lebhe guruvaraparamparopanatam | cakram idam īśvaraśivāt pūrvācāryo 'smādiya eva purā"* 'As you yourselves [have declared]: "The first Ācārya of my lineage received this Cakra, that had come down through the unbroken line of excellent Gurus, from Īśvaraśiva, the abbot of the Śūramaṭha"'.
⁵⁰⁴*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 5.38.

⁵⁰⁵Kalhaṇa refers to the Śūramaṭha as a place of sanctuary in the capital during the reigns of Abhimanyu (958–972) (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 6.223) and Saṃgrāmarāja (1003–1028) (*ibid.*, 7.26).

⁵⁰⁶GNOLI 1999, p. 700, in a note on Īśvaraśiva mentioned in *Tantrāloka* 22.30, asserts that this author is "the same as Īśvaraśiva, the propagator of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* in Kashmir in the 9th century", referring the reader to PANDEY 1963, pp. 578–582.

⁵⁰⁷*Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*, pp. 117–118.

⁵⁰⁸For Jayaratha's date see below, p. 420.

tradition of worshippers of the Nityās,⁵⁰⁹ but nothing requires us to identify that with the cult of Tripurasundarī seen in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata/Nityāṣoḍaśikā-rṇava*, since there were earlier traditions of the worship of Tripurā accompanied by nine Nityās or by eleven Nityās and Kāmadeva, which though antecedents of this cult are certainly not to be confused with it.⁵¹⁰

THE ŚAIVISM OF THE SVACCHANDA AND NETRA

Two other major traditions of Śaiva worship are evidenced in Kashmir: (1) that of Svachchandabhairava and his consort Aghoreśvarī, based on the *Svacchandatantra*, and (2) that of Amṛteśa[bhairava] and his consort Amṛtalakṣmī, based on the *Netratantra*. The first of these texts is the principal scripture of the Dakṣiṇa or Bhairava division of the Śaiva Mantramārga and of its Mantrapīṭha subdivision.⁵¹¹ The second presents itself as transcending the various divisions

⁵⁰⁹ *Tantrāloka* 28.123cd, referring to *nityātantravidah* ‘followers of the Nityātantras’ for their calendar of Kaula special days (*parvadināni*); also *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, p. 238, ll. 25–26: *yathā nityātantreṣu aikārātmakamohanabījaprādhānyahetuḥ*.

⁵¹⁰ See, e.g., *Tantrāloka* 9.139, ll. 14–15, quoting a *Navanītyāvidhāna*. The *Manthānabhairavatāntra* speaks of the *navanītyāgamāḥ* as a class of Tantras above the Pramāṇa-śāstras of the Lākulas (on whom see SANDERSON 2006) [and the Siddhāntas] but below the Bhairava Tantras of the left and right streams (*Kumārikhaṇḍa*, f. 213r.: *navanītyāgamajñānām śivatattvaṃ param padam; Siddhakhaṇḍa*, f. 8v3–4: *nityātantrāṇi cibukād pūrvāmnāyaṃ lalāṭataḥ | paścimaṃ ṣoḍaśāntāt tu tadūrdhve na ca kiṃcana*) and includes a cult of these Nine (*navanītyākramāḥ*) (Kulanītyā, Vajreśvarī, Tvaritā, Kurukullā, Lalitā, Bheruṇḍā, Nilapatākā, Kāmamaṅgalā and Vyomavyāpinī) with Tripurā as the tenth and their leader (*Siddhakhaṇḍa*, f. 203r–v). Evidence of a system of eleven Nityās survives in the scripture *Nityākaula*, of which a single, incomplete manuscript has come down to us. Here the goddess Tripurā is worshipped surrounded by a circle of twelve deities comprising eleven Nityā goddesses and Kāmadeva. The eleven Nityās of this text are Hṛllekhā, Kledinī, Nandā, Kṣobhanī, Madanāturā, Nirañjanā, Rāgavatī, Madanāvatī, Khekalā, Drāvaṇī and Vegavatī; see *Nityākaula*, f. 2r7–2v1: + + + + *tu nāmāni kathayāmi *tanūdari* (cor. : *tanodari* Cod.) | *hṛllekhā kledinī nandā kṣobhanī madanāturā | nirañjanā [rāgavatī tathānyā mā]danāvatī | khekalā drāvaṇī caiva tathā vegavatī varā | ekādaśāntā devyās te madano dvādaśa smṛtaḥ*. Its earlier prominence is indicated by the fact that a syncretistic text of the cult of Kubjikā, the *Cīncīṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, contains a section drawn from the *Nityākaula*, or from some lost text closely related to it, in which it sets out this Yāga as the ‘teaching of the southern order’ (*dakṣiṇagharāmnāyah*), grouping it with the cult of Kubjikā, the Kālikula, and a form of unmarked Kaulism agreeing closely with that found in the Trika, which it calls the teachings of the orders of the North, West and East respectively.

⁵¹¹ The *Svacchanda* is at the head of the list of Dakṣiṇa Tantras in the *Brahmayāmala*, as the first of eight *-bhairava* scriptures (f. 199r [39.33c–35b]: *svacchandabhairavaṃ devī krodhabhairavam eva ca | unmattabhairavaṃ devī tathā caivograbhairavam | kapālībhairavaṃ caiva*

of the Śaiva canon, teaching a system of worship that is universal and at the same time can be inflected to be practised in the context of any system of worship by the substitution of appropriate deity-visualizations to accompany the Mantras of the core cult. These substitutions apply in the first instance to the Śaiva divisions. Thus one can propitiate Amṛteśa as Sadāśiva in the context of the Siddhānta, as Bhairava in that of the Dakṣiṇa, as Tumburu in that of the Vāma, and as Kuleśvara in the Kaula cult of the eight Mothers. However, the cult of Amṛteśa and/or Amṛtalakṣmī is not limited to these divisions. It can be extended to absorb the worship of any deity male or female, including the Pañcarātra's Vāsudeva, Sūrya, Bhadrakālī, the Buddha, and the forms of Śiva worshipped by or for the uninitiated laity. I have argued elsewhere that the *Netra* is providing in this way for a cult in the hands of a new class of Śaiva officiants working in what was traditionally the professional domain of the brahmanical royal chaplain (*rājapurohitah*), specializing in rituals for the protection of the monarch and his family and taking over the performance of worship on the king's behalf of the full range of deities whose worship is prescribed in the brahmanical calendar, including those of the major royal festivals of the Indrotsava and the Navarātra.⁵¹²

These two cults, of Svachchandabhairava and Amṛteśabhairava, appear to have been very well established in Kashmir. Indeed we may say that if any cults constituted the basic Śaivism of the brahmins of the valley, it was these. For they form the basis of all the surviving Śaiva Paddhatis used as practical guides by Kashmir's Śaiva officiants and other initiates down to recent times.⁵¹³ We see this, for example, in the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, the detailed manual for Śaiva initi-

tathā jhaṃkārabhairavam | śekharam ca tathā caiva vijayabhairavam eva ca). It is the first of the thirty-two Dakṣiṇatantras listed in the account of the Śaiva canon that precedes the *Jñānapañcāśikā* in a Nepalese manuscript of the *Kālotara* recensions (*Kālotara*, f. 2r2–5 [v. 17–21]: 17 *svachchandabhairavam caṇḍaṃ* krodham unmattabhairavam | *asitāṅgaṃ rurūṃ caiva kāpālīṣaṃ samuccayam* | 18 *aghoram *ghoraghoṇam ca* [conj. : *ghoṇasaṃghoram* Cod.] *niśa-saṃcāra *dīnmukham* [em. : *dur mukham* Cod.] | **bhīmāṅgaṃ* (conj. : *bhīmāsaṃ* Cod.) *dāma-rārāvam bhīmavetālavarddhakam* | 19 *ucchuṣṣam iva bhikāmbelaṃ śekharam puṣpam adva-yam* | *triśīram caikapādam tu siddhayogeśvarimatam* | 20 *pañcāmṛtaṃ* prapañcam ca yoginī-jāla*saṃvaram (corr. : *sambaram* Cod.) | *viśvārikanṭhasaṃkocaṃ tilakodyānabhairavam* | 21 *evam dvātriṃśat tantrāṇi sotarāṇi ca taḍ dvayam* | *catuṣṣaṣṭipramāṇāni dakṣiṇāsyodbhavāni tu*. It is also the first of the sixty-four Bhairavatantras listed in the *Śrīkaṇṭhī* (*Tantrāloka* v. 1, p. 42, l. 5). For its position as the first of the Tantras of the Mantrapīṭha see p. 236.

⁵¹²See SANDERSON 2005b.

⁵¹³On the fact that the Kashmirian Śaiva Paddhatis are based on the *Svachchanda* and *Netra* see SANDERSON 2005b, p. 240 and footnotes 20–21.

ation, composed by Manodadatta in A.D. 1335/6 and subsequently elaborated in more than one version,⁵¹⁴ and in such anonymous works as the *Agnikārya-paddhati* for the Śaiva fire-sacrifice, and the *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati* for Śaiva cremation together with the Paddhatis for the Śaiva Śrāddhas to be performed for the dead.⁵¹⁵

It is also apparent in the *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, a digest of passages bearing on daily (*nitya*-) and occasional (*naimittika*-) Śaiva worship compiled by Rājānaka Takṣakavarta at some time after the eleventh century⁵¹⁶ from a wide range of scriptural texts and Paddhatis, a number of which survive only here.⁵¹⁷ For the passages he has chosen cover three modes of worship, that of the Sidhānta, and the two based on the *Svacchanda* and the *Netra*.

LOST PADDHATIS

Rājānaka Takṣakavarta cites a number of Paddhatis, of which a few are evidently lost products of Kashmir. The Saiddhāntika Paddhati of Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha has already been mentioned.⁵¹⁸ He also cites passages from a Paddhati by Viśvāvarta, and these reveal that it taught both worship of Śiva according to the

⁵¹⁴On the date of the *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* and its subsequent expansion see SANDERSON 2004, p. 362, footnote 34.

⁵¹⁵A volume published for local use containing the *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati* and the Paddhatis for the offerings of water to the dead and the subsequent Śrāddhas is among the Sanskrit texts from Kashmir republished in photographic reproduction by Lokesh CHANDRA (1984). Also in this corpus of post-mortuary Śaiva ritual is the *Śivagopradānavidhi*.

⁵¹⁶On this prior limit of Takṣakavarta's date see below, p. 422.

⁵¹⁷His digest contains passages from or references to the following scriptures: *Aghoripañcaśataka*, *Adbhuta*, *Anantavijaya*, *Analasiddhānta*, *Anilasiddhānta* (probably a scribal error for the preceding), *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, *Ucchuṣmatantra*, *Umāyāmala*, *Kālotara*, *Kiraṇa*, *Kubjikāmata*, *Gauriyāmala*, *Gaurīśvarāgama*, *Cakreśvaramata*/Cillācakraśvara, *Caturviṃśatisāhasrā*, *Catuṣpañcāśikā*, *Candrahāsa*, *Jayāsaṃhitā* (= *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*), *Dūtiḍāmara*, *Devāyāmala*, *Nandīśvarāvātāra-Niḥśvāsa*, *Parāgama* (= *Parākhyā*), *Paṇḍitapārameśvara*, *Brhatkālotara*, *Maṅgalaśāstra*, *Mataṅga*, *Mayasaṃgraha*, *Mahālakṣmīmata*, *Mukuta*, *Mṛgendra*, *Mṛtyujitsārasaṃgraha*, *Mṛtyuñjaya* (= *Netratantra*), *Yakṣiṇīpārameśvara*, *Raurava*, *Lakṣmīkaula*, *Lalitamahātāntra*, *Vāthula*, *Vājasaneyā*, *Vidyāpurāṇa*, *Vīṇāśikhottara*, *Śaṅkarabhairava*, *Śikhākāmeśvara*, *Śikhātāntra*, *Śivadharma*, *Śrīkaṇṭhī*, *Śrīpūrva* (= *Mālinīvijayottara*), *Sārasvatāmata*, *Siddhayogeśvartāntra*, *Svacchanda*, *Svāyambhuva*, *Hamsapārameśvara*, and *Hāṭakeśvara*. He also cites the following Paddhatis: *Karmoddyota* of Dharmasiva, *Tāntrāloka*, *Nārāyaṇakaṇṭhapaddhati*, *Brahmaśambhupaddhati*, *Vāmadevapaddhati*, *Vāmadevīya[samgraha]*, *Viśvāvartapaddhati*, an unnamed Paddhati by Vairocanaśārya, and *Somaśambhupaddhati*.

⁵¹⁸See p. 246.

Siddhānta⁵¹⁹ and that of Amṛteśabhairava following the *Netratantra*.⁵²⁰ The passages cited do not allow us to conclude that it did not also include prescriptions pertaining to the worship of Svachchandabhairava or some other system or systems. The author's name, which is of a distinctively Kashmirian type,⁵²¹ and the absence of any reference to this work outside the Śaiva literature of Kashmir indicate that this is a work of that region.

Takṣakavarta also gives extracts from the Paddhati of Dharmasīva, called *Karmoddyota*. Because of its author's Saiddhāntika initiation-name we would expect it to deal only with the rituals of the Saiddhāntika Mantramārga. But in fact it is clear that it too had a wider scope. After setting out the varieties of rosary (*akṣamālā*) appropriate to worship for various supernatural ends (*siddhiḥ*), Dharmasīva teaches the procedure for its preparation for use (*saṃskāraḥ*). After empowering it by repeating over it the principal Mantra and its auxiliaries, the worshipper should sprinkle it with water scented with camphor and sandalwood and then show the Mudrā. The last, it says, should be whichever is prescribed in the Kalpa that he is following.⁵²² This implies that it sets out general procedures that can be adjusted as necessary to accommodate the propitiation of non-Saiddhāntika Mantras. The same appears from its treatment of the procedure for the repetition of Mantras (*japavidhiḥ*), which he refers to as applicable to the *pañcasrotasḥ śaivam*, which is to say, to the Śaivism of the Mantramārga in its five branches, of which the principal three are the Siddhānta, the Vāma, and the Dakṣiṇa, opposing this to the Kula Śaivism (*kulam*) of the Śāktas.⁵²³ To the same effect he rules in this context that one should visualize in one's heart the iconic form prescribed for one's Mantra in accordance

⁵¹⁹ *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 35v1: *ittham amantrapūjādau śrīviśvāvartabhāṣitā | siddhāntadrṣṭyā tv adhunā vacmi bhairavaśāsane*.

⁵²⁰ *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, ff. 22v8–9, 23r1: *ity eṣa nyāsaividhiḥ siddhāntanayāśritaḥ kathitaḥ. sarvasrotaḥsaṃgrahasārāśayato 'pi kathyate so 'lpah ... śrī*viśvāvarta* (em. : *viśvārta* Cod.) *evam hi jagāda nijapaddhatau*. The *Sarvasrotaḥsaṃgrahasāra* is the *Netra*. Other citations: f. 13v6–14r2 (*devāditarpaṇam proktam *śrīviśvāvartapaddhatau* [corr. : *śrīviśveṣartapaddhatau* Cod.]); and f. 32r1 (*āvāhādiprayogo 'yam śrīviśvāvarta*bhāṣitaḥ* [em. : *bhāvitaḥ* Cod.]–32r9).

⁵²¹ On this and other Kashmirian names ending in *-āvarta*, *-varta* etc. see p. 260.

⁵²² *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 37r5–37v6 (*akṣamālāvidhir hy eṣa karmoddyote nirūpitaḥ*); f. 37r12–v1: *vinyasya dakṣiṇe haste prṣṭhe tasyām japec cīram | sāṣṭam śatam hṛdādīnām daśaṃśenābhimantrayet | toyena secayet tena candracandanagandhinā | mudrām pradarśayen mantrī nijakalpakramoditām*.

⁵²³ *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 41r10–42r11 (*karmo[ddyote] dhārmasīve py evam japavidhiḥ smṛtaḥ*); f. 42r9: *dvaite proktam idaṃ jñānam sa dvaitārthe tato nyaset | pañcasrotasi śaive 'smiñ japah proktaḥ kule 'nyathā*.

with the particular ritual system that one is following.⁵²⁴

That the systems envisaged by Dharmaśiva include the worship of Bhairava can be inferred from a passage on the rising degrees of merit to be gained by bathing the Liṅga with various liquids. For he begins with water and ends with wine (*mṛdvīkārasaḥ*),⁵²⁵ and bathing the substrate of worship with wine is a strictly non-Saiddhāntika practice, as Takṣakavarta makes clear by following this citation with a passage from the lost *Aghorīpañcaśataka*. That teaches that wine and the like should be used to bathe any image in which non-dual Mantras have been installed, and may also be used in the case of natural ('self-created') Liṅgas and the ovoid stones gathered from the bed of the Narmadā river known as Bāṇaliṅgas, but never in the case of a fixed Liṅga fashioned by man and empowered with the Mantras of the Siddhānta. Non-dual Mantras here are evidently those other than the Mantras of the Siddhānta, and this is confirmed later in the passage when it states that one should gratify an image with wine or other fermented liquors when it has been empowered with the Mantras of the Vāma, Dakṣiṇa, or Trisiddhānta. The last of these is evidently the Trika under a synonym.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 41r10–11: *yathā japaṃ prakurvīta tathā vyāptir ihocyate | saṃjamyākṣāṇi manasā rājivāsanasamsthitaḥ | mūlamantram samuccārya nāde līnaṃ svakāraṇe | dhyātvā hṛdi svamantrasya svakarmaprokṭavigrahaṃ | sūkṣmadehasya hṛtpadme śivadehe viśec chivam.*

⁵²⁵ *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 34r1–3: **gāvah* (em. : *yāvaf* Cod.) *prthivyāṃ yāvatyas tad-dānaphalatulyatām | yāti liṅge jala*snānād* (em. : *snānā* Cod.) **gāndhais* (em. : *gadyais* Cod.) *śataguṇaṃ tataḥ | gandhasnānāc chataguṇaṃ kṣīrasnānaṃ tatas tathā | dadhisnānaṃ śataguṇaṃ tac cājyena tataḥ śatam | *sadyahpṛitidamṛdvīkārase* (conj. : *sadyaḥpṛititadṛdvīkārase* Cod.) *naitatsamaṃ phalam | sādhaḥkasya vinirdiṣṭaṃ śrīmaddharmaśiveṇa tu.*

⁵²⁶ *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 34r3–7: *advaitamantrayuktā ye tathā bāṇāḥ svayambhuvah | vāmāmṛtādibhir dravyaiḥ prokṭaṃ teṣāṃ tu tarpaṇam | na hi tat sthāpīte liṅge *siddhāntamantrakalpīte* (em. : *siddhānte mantrakalpīte* Cod.) *| jalāc chataguṇaṃ gāndhaṃ gandhāc chataguṇaṃ payah | kṣīrāc chataguṇaṃ dādhaṃ dadhnaś śataguṇaṃ ghṛtaṃ | ghṛtāc chataguṇaṃ (*vāmaṃ) (conj.) vāmadakṣiṇāśāsane | ghṛtatulyaṃ madhusnānaṃ drākṣā cekṣurasamam | tasmāc chreṣṭhatamaṃ snānaṃ surayā vāsavena vā | tṛṇāgrabindumātrena liṅga*snānena tarpaṇam* (conj. : *snāneṣatarpaṇe* Cod.) *| kṛtaṃ bhavati tat tulyam aśvamedhaśataiḥ samam | vāme kuryāt trisiddhānte vihitam bhairave sadā | bhairave tu prapannānāṃ snānaṃ snānaṃ phalādhikam | aghorīpañcaśatake prokṭam etad dhi sambhunā.*

Other citations from the Paddhati of Dharmaśiva: f. 20r4–12, on the nature of the *mūrtiḥ* that is the base for *nyāsaḥ*; f. 46r1 (*bāhye tatra balim prāha śrīmān dharmasīvābhīdhaḥ*), on the bali offering; f. 55v9–10 (*karmodyote viśeṣo 'yam śrīmaddharmaśivodītaḥ*), concerning the ritual preparation of the clarified butter for use in the oblations into the fire (*ājyasaṃskāraḥ*); f. 57r14 (*kalaśāṣṭakam uddiṣṭaṃ śrīmaddharmaśiveṇa tu*), requiring eight vases to be placed around the

A Paddhati by a Dharmasīva has also been cited by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*. That this is the same work as the *Karmoddyota* is probable, since Abhinavagupta refers to it as the *Karmapaddhati*, which is probably a metrically convenient abbreviation for **Karmoddyotapaddhati*. He looks to it for its instructions concerning an expiatory fire-sacrifice to be performed before initiation *in absentia*. This gives a Mantra for the burning of the initiand's sins that was used for this purpose in the practice of the Śaiva Gurus of Kashmir until recent times, a circumstance that adds to the likelihood that Dharmasīva was a Kashmirian.⁵²⁷

To these may be added the Paddhati of Īśānaśivācārya, of which we have

sacrificial fire.

⁵²⁷ *Tantrāloka* 21.50–56b: *śrīmān dharmasīvo 'py āha pāroksyām karmapaddhatau | paroḥṣadikṣaṇe samyak pūrṇāhutividhau yadi | 51 agniś citiṭāśabdaṃ sadhūmaṃ pratimuñcati | dhatte nilāmbudacchāyāṃ muhur jvalati sāmyati | 52 vistaro ghorarūpaś ca mahīm dhāvati cāpy adhaḥ | dhvāṃkṣādyaśravyaśabdo vā tadā taṃ lakṣayed guruḥ | 53 brahmahatyādiḥ pāpāḥ tatsaṅgaḥ copapātakaiḥ | tadā tasya na kartavyā dikṣāsminn akṛte vidhau | 54 navātmā phatpūṭāntaḥsthaḥ punaḥ pañcaphaḍanvitaḥ | amukasyeti pāpāni dahāmy anu phadaṣṭakam | 55 iti sāhasriko homaḥ kartavyas tilataṇḍulaiḥ | ante pūrṇā ca dātavyā tato 'mai dikṣayā guruḥ | 56 parayojanaparyantaṃ kuryāt tattvaśodhanam* 'And the venerable Dharmasīva has stated on the subject of initiation *in absentia* in his *Karmapaddhati* that if during this initiation when one correctly executes the plenary oblation the fire sputters and billows smoke, if it assumes the colour of a dark cloud, if it repeatedly flares up and subsides, if spreading, fierce in appearance, it runs out along the ground beneath it, or if it emits a harsh sound such as that of the cawing of a crow, then the Guru should understand that this is the effect of [major] sins such as brahminicide and associated minor offences [committed but not expiated by the initiand]. In this situation he should not perform the initiation without first having done the following rite. He should make a thousand offerings into the fire of sesame seeds and rice grains, reciting [as he casts in each handful a Mantra comprising] Navātman with PHAṬ before and after, followed by five PHAṬS, then AMUKASYA PĀPĀNI DAHĀMI, and then eight PHAṬS. At the end he should offer a plenary [oblation]. Only then may the Guru perform through initiation the purification of the Tattvas that culminates in the fusion [of the initiand] with the highest [reality]'. The Mantra, substituting the name of an initiand Śivasvāmin, would be [OM] PHAṬ H-S-KṢ-M-L-V-R-YŪM PHAṬ 6 ŚIVASVĀMINAḤ PĀPĀNI DAHĀMI PHAṬ 8 [SVĀHĀ], the numerals indicating the number of times that the preceding syllable should be repeated. This procedure is seen in the Kashmirian Śaiva manual for cremation. There it is performed, as in Dharmasīva's Paddhati, before the purification of the Tattvas that is to be done at the time of cremation in the case of a person who has not received initiation while alive. See *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati*, p. 274 (= CHANDRA 1984, p. 202b), ll. 1–3, p. 275 (= CHANDRA 1984, p. 202c), ll. 3–5: (*tad anu*) *navātmahomaḥ* (PHAṬ HASARAKṢAMALAVAYAŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ *sahasraṃ 1000 vā 100 vā 10 hutvā. pūrṇā. tejo 'si* PHAṬ PHAṬ AMUKASYA PĀPĀNI DAHĀMI SVĀHĀ. ...*adikṣitasya tattvaśodhanam kuryāt. ābutinām *1000 sahasraṃ 100 śataṃ vā* (conj. : *100 śataṃ śataṃ vā* Ed.) *yathāśakti. ājyābutiḥ śreṣṭhā. tadabhāve tilayavatāṇḍulaiḥ. yathāsau prthvītattvam āvāhya sampūjya cāhinet.*)

a single citation in the *Tantrāloka*. That passage gives a ruling that excludes converts to Śaivism from holding office as Ācāryas or Sādhakas, with the exception in the former case of converts who achieve self-realization. In giving this ruling, Abhinavagupta tells us, Īśānaśiva was explaining the meaning of a statement on this subject in the Trika's *Devīyāmala*.⁵²⁸ The fact that it cites this source makes it likely to have been a Kashmirian work, since it is probable that the *Devīyāmala* too was a product of this region.⁵²⁹ It cannot, however, have been a Paddhati on the Trika, since Abhinavagupta informs us that there was no such work when he composed his *Tantrāloka*.⁵³⁰

It will have been noticed that Dharmasiv[ācārya]a and Īśānaśivācārya have Saiddhāntika initiation-names, whereas all the Kashmirian Saiddhāntikas of the -kaṇṭha lineage, as well as all the authors of the Krama and Trika, refer to themselves and each other under their secular names. It is probable that the adoption of a new name at the time of initiation, or at least its public use, was the practice of ascetics, and that these two authors then provide an exception to what I have identified in the introduction as the dominant character of the Śaivism of the Kashmirian exegetes, namely that it is that of married householders.⁵³¹ That there were Śaiva ascetics in Kashmir as elsewhere in India is clear from local literary sources. In Act 3 of Jayantabhaṭṭa's topical play *Āgamaḍambara*, written during the reign of Śaṅkaravarman (r. A.D. 883–902), we encounter the ash-dusted abbot (*bhaṭṭārakaḥ*) Dharmasiva receiving Saṃkarṣaṇa, who as the king's minister for the protection of religion throughout the land⁵³² has come to his hermitage to calm the anxiety of the Śaivas of all divisions caused by the recent suppression of the followers of the licentious Śaiva Black-Blanket observance (*nīlāmbaravratam*), an event whose historicity

⁵²⁸ *Tantrāloka* 22.28c–31b. For *śrīdevyā yāmaliyoktitattvasamyakpravedakaḥ* in 22.31ab (Ed.) read *śrīdevyāyāmaliyoktitattvasamyakpravedakaḥ* '[Īśānaśivācārya,] who has correctly explained the essence of what the *Devīyāmala* has taught [on this matter]'.
⁵²⁹ See footnote 83 on p. 261.

⁵³⁰ *Tantrāloka* 1.14–15: *santi paddhatayaś citrāḥ srotobhedeṣu bhūyasā | anuttaraṣaḍardhārthakrame tv ekāpi neksyate | ity ahaṃ bahuśaḥ sadbhiḥ śiṣyasabrahmacāribhiḥ | arthito racaye spaṣṭāṃ pūrṇārthāṃ prakriyāṃ imāṃ* 'There are various Paddhatis in abundance on [the practice of] the various streams [the Siddhāntatantras, Vāmatantras, Dakṣiṇatantras, Gāruḍatantras, and Bhūtatantras]. But not one is seen on the procedures of the supreme doctrine of the Trika. Therefore, at the repeated request of my excellent disciples and fellow students, I am composing this clear and comprehensive treatise'.

⁵³¹ See p. 242.

⁵³² *Āgamaḍambara*, p. 132: *saalāe vaśuṃdhalāe dhammaḷaṣkādhiāle ṇiutte* (= Skt. *sakalāyā va-sundharāyā dharmaraṣṣādhikāre niyuktaḥ*).

is reported by Jayanta in his *Nyāyamañjarī*.⁵³³ It appears that Dharmasīva is approached here as the official representative of all the Śaiva persuasions, Pāśupata, Kālamukha, Mahāvratin, and Mantramārgic Śaiva.⁵³⁴ From the eleventh century we have the testimony of the satirist Kṣemendra. Writing for a Kashmirian audience he mocks three Śaiva ascetics in his *Deśopadeśa*: Nayanaśīva (= Netraśīva), Rūpaśīva, and Dhyānaśīva.⁵³⁵ The names suggest in the satirical context their inability to take their eyes off women (Eye-Śīva, Eyefull-Śīva, and Ogle-Śīva) while at the same time being, like Dharmasīva, regular Saiddhāntika initiation-names such as are found in inscriptions and Śaiva literature.⁵³⁶

We also have references to and citations from a number of *Svacchanda*-based initiation Paddhatis, otherwise lost or not yet discovered, in Śivasvāmin's expanded text of the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* of Manodadatta, the initiation manual of the Śaiva gurus of Kashmir. It quotes a passage from a metrical Paddhati by a Guru Viśvāvasu for its treatment of the preparation of the five products of

⁵³³ *Nyāyamañjarī*, vol. 1, p. 649, ll. 4–7: **asitaikapāṭanivītānīyatastrīpumsavihitabahuṣṭam* (asitaika em. : amitaika Ed.) | *nīlāmbavaratam idaṃ kila kalpitam āsit vīṭaiḥ kaiścit* | *tad apūrvam iti viditvā nivārayāmāsa dharmatattvajñaḥ* | *rājā śaṅkaravarmā na punar jainādimatam evam* 'King Śaṅkaravarman, knowing the essentials of [brahmanical] religious law, prohibited the Nīlāmbavarata on the grounds that with its many acts committed by licentious couples wrapped up in a single black blanket it was an observance without precedent reportedly invented by certain dissolute rogues; but he did not act in this way against the Jainas and other [non-brahmanical religious]'.
⁵³⁴ *Āgamaḍambara*, p. 188, l. 10–11, in which the minister of religious affairs declares to Dharmasīva as the government's current policy of toleration of all the Śaiva persuasions: *tad ime śaivapāśupatakālamukhā mahāvratinaś ca yathāsukham āsatām* 'So these, the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kālamukhas, and Mahāvratins, may relax'.

⁵³⁵ *Deśopadeśa* 8.46–47: *nayanaśīvaḥ khalvāto + + + danturaś ca rūpaśīvaḥ* | *jaṭino viśanti yāge dhyānaśīvas tantramāntrahīnaś ca* | *triphalākṣālanavimalo dhūpādhyo bhasmamauṣṭihatayūkaḥ* | *veśyānām upadhānam dhanyo jaṭinām jaṭājūṭaḥ* '[Three] Śaiva ascetics, bald Nayanaśīva ... buck-toothed Rūpaśīva, and Dhyānaśīva devoid of [knowledge] of both the rituals and their Mantras [now] enter [before] the Maṇḍala. The massed tresses of Śaiva ascetics, cleansed by washing with nutmeg, areca nut, and cloves, richly fumigated with incense, their lice killed with fist-fulls of ash, are fortunate indeed, for they are prostitutes' pillows'.

⁵³⁶ Thus among 49 initiated chanters of the Tamil hymns of the *Tēvāram* named as beneficiaries in an inscription in the Rājaraṣeśvara (Bṛhadiśvara) temple of Rājaraṣa I (r. 985–1014) at Tañjāvūr (*South Indian Inscriptions* 2, no. 65) there are 9 Dharmasīvas and 2 Netraśīvas; in the series of more than 95 12th-century images of named Śivācāryas in Dārāśuram (L'HERNAULT 1987, pp. 20–21, 31–35) there are 6 Dharmasīvas and 1 Netraśīva; the Rajor inscription of A.D. 960 (*Epigraphia Indica* 3, no. 36) mentions a Rūpaśīva; and there is a Dhyānaśīva in the preceptorial lineage of Aghoraśīva as reported by the latter in his *Dviśatikālottaravṛtti*, in a verse given in GOODALL 1998, pp. xiv–xv.

the cow (*pañcagavyavidhiḥ*) among the preliminary rites of initiation.⁵³⁷ It follows this with a quotation of the beginning of a passage on the same procedure from a prose *Dikṣākalpa*.⁵³⁸ The two texts are related but it is not possible to determine which drew on which.⁵³⁹ The *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* also quotes a prose *Dikṣākalpalatā*, probably the same work, on the appropriate times of the year for the holding of initiation ceremonies⁵⁴⁰ and on the cutting off of the candidate's hair tuft (*śikhā*) at the end of the purification of the highest of the five segments (*kalāḥ*) of the cosmic hierarchy, the procedure taught in the latter passage being said to follow the teaching of the *Svacchanda*.⁵⁴¹ It is also mentioned together with an otherwise unknown text, the *Dikṣāsārasamuccaya*, as a source that does not support the view of an unnamed author of a certain *Dikṣāpaddhati* that at the end of the ritual that bestows brahmanhood during the first preliminary initiation (*śiṣyasamṣkāraḥ*, = *samayadikṣā*) the officiant

⁵³⁷ *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 20r11–v9 : *atra ca viśvāvasuguravaḥ: pañcagavyavidhaye 'tha saṁbhavāt pātrasaptakam upāharec chubham | mṛṇmayāvadhimaṇeḥ samukṣitam cāstrataḥ kavacato 'vaguṇṭhitam | prācy atho navapadiṁ śivādinā prārcya tattvanavakena madhyataḥ | supraṭiṣṭhitasūśāntidīptimatsāmṛtātmakam atho saratnavat | pātrapañcakam athātra madhyage varmamāntritapayaḥ śikhānūnā | pūrvage dadhi ghṛtaṁ ca dakṣage cāstramantraparimantritam nyaset | āpyage hṛdanūnātha gomayaṁ gojalaṁ ca śirasātra saumyage | aiśage kuśajalaṁ ca netrataḥ saptaśaḥ samabhimantritam nyaset | palāni vedāgnibhujendusaṁkhyāny aṅguṣṭhato 'rdham kramāso 'pi madhyāt | hṛdādibhiḥ saptamabhājane 'tha saṁmiśrayet tāni kuśāsanasthe iti.*

⁵³⁸ *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 20v9–10: *tathā ca dikṣākalpe: atha pañcagavyavidhaye saṁbhavataḥ pātrasaptakam hṛdyam ityādy uktam.*

⁵³⁹ The beginnings of both are so similar that one surely was drawing on the other: *pañcagavyavidhaye 'tha saṁbhavāt pātrasaptakam ... śubham* (Viśvāvasu's verse); and *atha pañcagavyavidhaye saṁbhavataḥ pātrasaptakam hṛdyam* (*Dikṣākalpa*'s prose).

⁵⁴⁰ *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 10v1–4: *tathā śrīdikṣākalpalatāyām: tatra śaranmadhuyogo vara iha dikṣāvidhau tadaprāptau varṣam vinānyadāpi na doṣaḥ.*

⁵⁴¹ *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 166v15–167r7: *tathā ca śrīsvacchandabhairavatantramātānusāreṇa dikṣākalpalatāyām: atha ṣaṭkāraṇakāraṇabhūtām vyāptrim anaupamyām suddhām śāntyatītām śikhāgragām śaspaṇṇajalakāṇavad dhyātvā prāṇanaśakter muṇḍāntoccapravāhinyāḥ chettum adhovahanāt mabandhakatām tadanukāriṇīm dehe niṣkalaśikhābhimantritakartaryā śiśuśikhām chindyād iti* 'And likewise in the *Dikṣākalpalatā* in accordance with the position of the *Svacchandabhairavatantra*: "Then he should meditate on [the highest segment, that of] Śāntyatītā as the cause of the six causes [namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, and Anāśrita], all-pervading, matchless, and pure, [visualizing it] on the tip of the [candidate's] hair-tuft as resembling a droplet of water on the tip of a blade of grass. Then in order to eliminate the capacity of the power of the vital energy that flows up to reach the upper limit of the head to bind [the soul] by flowing downwards he should visualize the hair-tuft of the candidate as mirroring that [power] within the body and cut it away with a razor empowered by the recitation of the Śikhā [Mantra] of Niṣkala[svacchanda]". This has in mind *Svacchanda* 4.217–218b.

should have the initiand drink scented water mixed with ashes from the fire-pit as a substitute for the juice of the Soma plant, thus silently supporting the position of the *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* that the officiant should simply imagine that he is making the candidate drink this liquid.⁵⁴² The same *Dikṣāpaddhati* is criticized for ordaining that after the cutting of his hair-tuft the candidate should be purified not merely by bathing, as the *Svacchanda* requires, but by a bath preceded by the shaving of his hair (*vapanam*).⁵⁴³ The *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* also quotes passages from a *Gurupustaka*, giving a prayer in verse in which the officiant asks Śiva to grant permission for him to proceed with initiation,⁵⁴⁴ the procedure for purifying the Mantras before the culminating act of fusing the

⁵⁴² *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 101v12–16: *etadante manasā somam pāyayet. manasā manobhāvanayaiva. yat tu kenacid atra pātre gāndhōdakam kṛtvā kuṇḍāgnibhasmamiśritam tac chisyam pāyayed ity uktam likhitam ca svakṛtadikṣāpaddhatau tan nirmūlatvād upekṣyam śrīsvacchanda-tantrarāja tadadarśanāt somaśambhudikṣākālpalatādiṣu dikṣāsārasamuccayagrantheṣu ca* ‘At the end of these [rites that bestow brahmanhood] [the officiant] should mentally have [the initiand] drink Soma. Mentally means simply by imagining this in his mind. As for the position of a certain person that he should put scented water mixed with ash from the fire-pit in this vessel and make the initiand drink it, which he has both taught and written in his *Dikṣāpaddhati*, that should be not be heeded, for it is not evidenced in the *Svacchandatantrarāja*, in such [Paddhatis] as Somaśambhu’s and the *Dikṣākālpalatā*, or in the *Dikṣāsārasamuccaya*’.

⁵⁴³ *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 167v10–15: *atra ca śisyam vapanam snānam ca kārayitvā iti *yat* (em. : *yah* Cod.) *kenāpi nijakṛtapaddhatau likhitam (tan) nirmūlatvād upekṣyam. snānam samācarec chīya iti śrīsvacchandatantrōktyā śīsyasya snānamātrenaiva śuddhir iti tīkādāv api likhitvāt* ‘The statement bearing on this matter by a certain [Ācārya] in a Paddhati that he has composed’, namely “Having caused the candidate to be shaved and to bathe”, should not be heeded, because it has no basis [in any authoritative source]. For the *Svacchandatantra* says “Let the candidate bathe” (4.219c) and in the commentary on that text and [related sources] we read that [his] purification is by bathing alone’. The commentary mentioned here is not Kṣemarāja’s. For on this verse-quarter he comments only on the reason for the bath: *chinnaśikhatvāt* ‘because he is one whose hair-tuft has been cut off’.

⁵⁴⁴ *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 72r–v12: *yathā gurupustake: “pūrvam eva tvayā śambho niyukto haṁ śivād bhava | guruh parāpare sthitvā lokānugrahakṛd bhava | tvacchaktyāghrātahṛdayo bhagavann amuko mayā | drṣṭas tato ’nugrahāya pravṛtto haṁ na lobhataḥ | tvam eva cātra bhagavan pramāṇam sarvakarmaṇām | sāksibhūtaḥ svayam kartā paramaḥ śaṅkaraḥ śivaḥ | tad viśeṣeṇa mām eva samadhiṣṭhāya samnidhim | vidhatsva yena tvatpādasamānakriyatām iyām | tvadājñām hṛdaye kṛtvā karomi nikhilāḥ kriyāḥ | anyathā kartum iśā hi lokesā api kiṁ prabho | tvadādeśād dikṣaṇīyaḥ śaktyāviṣṭo mayāmukhaḥ | vibhor āvedayisyāmi yad yat karma karomy aham | dehy ājñām me jagannātha prasīda bhagavan mama” iti*. This text is that used at the beginning of the preliminary initiation (= *samayadikṣā*) as taught in the *Śīsyasaṁskārapaddhati*, an anonymous Paddhati for that ritual (f. 1v4–18). It is possible, therefore, that this Paddhati is an extract from the *Gurupustaka* itself.

candidate with Śiva (*yojanikā*),⁵⁴⁵ the procedure for that act of fusion,⁵⁴⁶ and its Mantra.⁵⁴⁷ On the laying down with a powdered cord of the design of the Navanābhamaṇḍala, prescribed for initiation by the *Svacchanda*, it quotes first the *Svacchanda* itself and then a passage in verse to the same effect from the work of one Śrīkaṇṭhācārya.⁵⁴⁸ It is probable that this too was a Kashmirian Paddhati for initiation.

Rājanaka Ānanda, in the encomium of his patrilineage (the Padmapura Rājānakas of the Gautama Gotra) found at the end of his commentary (*-tattva-vivṛti*), completed in 1654, on the Mahākāvya *Naiṣadhacarita*, reports that his patrilineal ancestor Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha composed the *Gurupustikā* at the request of the king Saṃgrāmasiṃha and also the *Kalpalatā* “for the pleasure of the learned”.⁵⁴⁹ Saṃgrāmasiṃha was probably the Cāhamāna ruler of Sānchor (Satyapura), whose son Pratāpasīṃha installed an inscription in 1387.⁵⁵⁰ It is probable that these two works are the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*’s *Gurupustaka* and *Dīkṣākalpalatā*, since the latter is also referred to in that work simply as the *Kalpalatā* in a passage that mentions these two as among the sources on

⁵⁴⁵ *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 169r13–15: *tathā ca gurupustake tantre: dhāmno ’nte śodhayāmy astraṃ svāhety ekaikayāhutih. evaṃ sarvatra. mūlaṃ tu śatajāpena śodhayed iti.*

⁵⁴⁶ *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 170r15–v4: *sā ca gurupustake tantre: iti hutvā yojanikāṃ kuryāc chaivīm pare śive | āveśāt kulajāt kaulasārād vā sāmarasyataḥ | vinyasya hṛdayākāśe śāmbhavyā krodhinīdrśā prāṇaspaṇḍād āṇavād vā vyāpinīsphārasaṃsphurād iti.*

⁵⁴⁷ *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 175r5–15: OM HŪM PARAMAŚAIVE NIRĀṆJANE PADE AMUKĀṆUM YOJAYĀMI VAUṢAṬ. *iti manasā yojanikāmantram saṃdhāya pūrṇāhutim pātayet. pūrṇāhutyante mantrākṣarakoṭim mantrākṣaraprāntaṃ niyojayet. OM HŪM AMUKĀNUCAITANYAM NIṢKALE MANTRE YOJAYĀMI HŪM NAMAḥ iti manasā mantrasya prānte yojanikāṃ kṛtvā śiṣyaṃ saṃmilita-mantram kuryāt. tena caitanyamātrāvaśeṣayuktyā muktir bhavatīti guravaḥ. iti gurupustake yojanikāmantraḥ.*

⁵⁴⁸ *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* A, f. 90v9–: *iti śrīsvacchandabhairavamataṃ. tathā ca śrīkaṇṭhācāryeṇa pāpabhakṣaṇamatāntaram avalokyoktaṃ yathā:*

⁵⁴⁹ Rājānaka Ānanda in **Rājānakavaṃśaprasaṃsā* A, f. 2, ll. 16–19 (vv. 17–18: *śitikaṇṭhaḥ sutas tasya sotkaṇṭhaḥ śivadarśane | *saṃgrāmasiṃhārthanayā* (em. : *saṃgrāmasiṃhārcanayā* Cod.) *cakre yo gurupustikāṃ | tasya kalpalatākartur budhānāṃ prītaye sutau | adbhutāṃ yodha-śrīkaṇṭhāv abhūtāṃ siddhim āgatau* ‘Śitikaṇṭha, the son of this [Modaka], devoted to the realization of Śiva, composed the *Gurupustikā* at the request of Saṃgrāmasiṃha and the *Kalpalatā* for the pleasure of the learned. He had two sons, Yodha and Śrīkaṇṭha, who both achieved an extraordinary degree of supernatural power [through their Śaiva practice]’. An incomplete and undated Śāradā paper manuscript in 93 folios of a work entitled *Gurupustikā* has come down to us; (TRIPĀṬHĪ 1971, p. 436: Ms. C 4115). But I have not yet examined it.

⁵⁵⁰ See RAY 1931–1936, vol. 2, p. 1141. The only alternative that I can see is the Cāhamāna of Lāṭa who was the son of Sindhurāja and ruled c. 1215–45. But he is too early.

which Manodadatta drew when he composed the original work of this name.⁵⁵¹ Manodadatta completed his *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* in 1335/6⁵⁵² and the Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha patronized by Saṃgrāmasimha was, according to Rājānaka Ānanda, the great-grandson of the Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha who wrote the *Bālabodhinīyāsa*. That work was completed in 1471. If we assume that the active life of its author was approximately 1425–1475 and work backwards through time to the author of the *Gurupustikā* and the *Kalpalatā*, assigning twenty-five years to each generation, then the author of those two works will have been active in approximately 1350–1400. This is too late for his compositions to have been among Manodadatta's sources. However, apart from the fact that the calculation by generations of twenty-five years is only a very rough and unreliable guide, the genealogy itself is questionable. While Rājānaka Ānanda makes our Śitikaṇṭha the son of Modaka and the father of Yodha and Śrikaṇṭha, and Yodha the grandfather of the author of the *Bālabodhinīyāsa*,⁵⁵³ that author's own account of his lineage, at least in the two manuscripts that I have seen, omits our Śitikaṇṭha, making Yodha the son rather than the grandson of Modaka.⁵⁵⁴ Furthermore, it is Śivasvāmin, the enlarger of the *Kalādikṣāpaddhati*, that claims that Manodadatta used these texts, not Manodadatta himself. The expanded text contains a series of hymns of which the latest is the *Sambhukṛpāmanoharastava* com-

⁵⁵¹ *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 9v13–16: *śrīmanmrgendragurupustakatantratantrālokasvatantramatakālpalatādisāraṃ āhṛtya saṃśayaśamāya śaḍadhvaḍikṣāśikṣāṃ jagāda gururājamanodadattaḥ* 'In order to still doubts Manodadatta, king among Gurus, declared his instruction on the [procedure of the] initiation through the six paths after extracting the essence of the *Mrgendra*, the *Gurupustakatantra*, the *Tantrāloka*, the *Svacchanda* (*svatantramamatam*), the *Kalpalatā*, and other [texts]'

⁵⁵² See footnote 514 on p. 389.

⁵⁵³ Rājānaka Ānanda in **Rājānakavaṃśaprasaṃsā* A, ff. 2, ll. 14– 3, 7 (vv. 16–22): **modakas* (em. : *sodakas* AB) *tanayas tasya śivatattvaprabodhakah | vedāntavidyāsiddhāntavedī siddhapaṭham śrītaḥ | 17 śitikaṇṭhaḥ sutas tasya sotikaṇṭhaḥ śivadarśane | *saṃgrāmasimhārthanayā* (em. : *saṃgrāmasimhārcanayā* Cod.) *cakre yo gurupustikāṃ | 18 tasya kalpalatākartur budhānāṃ prīṭtaye sutau | adbhutāṃ yodhaśrikaṇṭhāv abhūtāṃ siddhim āgatau | 19 śrikaṇṭhaḥ prācyaśamskāraprakārān nirvikāradhīḥ | kaṇiṣṭho 'pi parāṃ niṣṭhāṃ siddhatāṃ śaiśave 'śrayat | 20 śivādva-yopadeṣṭābhūj jyeṣṭho lokaduriṣṭahā | yodho *'pi* (em. : *vi* Cod.) *śiṣyaśaṃtatyā yo 'dhaḥkṛtaprajāpatiḥ | 21 yodhād bodhāmbudher jātā *dvijarājāḥ* (corr. : *dvijarājā* Cod.) **sadoditāḥ* (em. : *sadoditāḥ* Cod.) *| arjuno 'tha trinayano mahāratha iti trayah | 22 śitikaṇṭho 'rjunasuto vivavre bālabodhinīm | samikṣayārthatritayaṃ cakre ca mahimastutau.*

⁵⁵⁴ Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha in **Rājānakavaṃśaprasaṃsā* A, f. 9, ll. 16–18 (vv. 4c–5a): *tatputraś ca modakaḥ samabhadraḥ vedāntasiddhāntavid dhyāyaṃ dhyāyaṃ iyāya devasadanam devaṃ mṛdānīpatim | tasmād yodhagurur babhūva bhagavān.*

posed by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in the seventeenth century,⁵⁵⁵ though the consequent inference that Śivasvāmin was active during the time of or later than Ratnakaṇṭha is undermined by the fact that the hymns appear to have been clumsily inserted into the text, the instructions that precede them being repeated after them to re-establish the flow of the Paddhati.⁵⁵⁶

The claim that the Śaiva Guru Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha was asked to compose his *Gurupustikā* by a king ruling in distant Sānchor in the far southwest of Rajasthan may surprise. But the later Śitikaṇṭha of this patriline reports in his *Bālabodhinīnyāsa* that his grandfather Yodha, the son of our Śitikaṇṭha according to Rājānaka Ānanda, had given Śaiva initiation to a number of kings, enabling them thereby to conquer their enemies and so enjoy long and prosperous reigns.⁵⁵⁷ He does not identify them; but Rājānaka Ānanda's report that the *Gurupustikā* was commissioned by Saṃgrāmasiṃha (Sangram Singh) suggests that they may have been rulers of the Rajput kingdoms of Rajasthan. No king of Kashmir can have been among them since the country had been in the hands of Muslim rulers since 1339.

⁵⁵⁵The context is the ritual of *pavitrārohaṇam* to be performed immediately after a post-initiatory consecration ceremony (*abhiṣekah*). *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 196v4–11: *ity abhiṣekah. tataḥ pavitrārohaṇam. abhiṣekānantaram saparivāram mantraṃ yathāsaṃbhavam saṃtarpya bhagavantam viśeṣārcābhiḥ ca saṃpūjya pavitrārohaṇe* *ca (corr. : *ca bhagavatam bhagavantam* Cod.) *stutidaṇḍapraṇatyādimaḥotsavanṛtagītavāditrarahasyārcanacarcābhiḥ bhagavantam saṃtosya pavitrakān pūjayet. tatra stutir yathā:* The hymns that follow are the *Bhairavastotra* of Abhinavagupta, called here *Paramaśivastuti* and *Bhairavadaśaka* (ff. 196v12–197v8), the *Aparādhāsundarastava* ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya (ff. 197v8–199r13), the *Bhairavastotra* of Rājānaka Śaṅkarakaṇṭha (ff. 199r13–200r5), the *Śambhukrāpāmanoharastava* of his son Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha (ff. 220r6–201v15), and a hymn attributed to Mahākavi Paṇḍita Jagaddhara (ff. 201v16–203r1) that is not among the thirty-eight of his *Stutikusumāñjali* as commented upon by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in his *-laghupañcikā*.

⁵⁵⁶*Kalādikṣāpaddhati* A, f. 203r4–5, after the hymns: *iti stutibhiḥ puṣpañjalīn dāpayitvā śiṣyān daṇḍapraṇatīḥ ca kārāyitvā nṛtagītavāditrarahasyārcanacarcābhiḥ ca śrīśivam saṃtosya pavitrakān pūjayet*. This repeats the meaning and most of the wording of the passage that introduces the hymns in f. 196v8–11: *stutidaṇḍapraṇatyādimaḥotsavanṛtagītavāditrarahasyārcanacarcābhiḥ bhagavantam saṃtosya pavitrakān pūjayet. tatra stutir yathā:*

⁵⁵⁷Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha in **Rājānakavamaśaprasaṃsā* A, f. 9, ll. 18–19 (v. 5): *tasmād yodhagurur babhūva bhagavān saṃprāpya dikṣāṃ yataḥ | prājyaṃ rājyaṃ *apāstavairinikarās* (*apāsta* GOVIND KAUL's transcript [em.] : *apāsyā* Cod.) *cakruḥ ciraṃ bhūbhujah* 'His son was the Guru Bhagavat Yodha, having obtained initiation from whom kings were freed of their enemies and enjoyed long and glorious reigns'.

KṢEMARĀJA'S EXEGESIS OF THE SVACCHANDA AND NETRA

That the cults of Svachchandabhairava and Amṛteśa were already well established in Kashmir in the tenth century can be seen from the fact that both the *Svacchanda* and the *Netra* received elaborate running commentaries from Abhinavagupta's pupil Kṣemarāja: the *Svacchandoddyota* and the *Netroddyota*. The centrality of these two Tantras during this early period is evident not merely from the existence of these learned commentaries—he also refers to a long commentary on the *Svacchanda* by a Rājānaka Bhullaka, now lost⁵⁵⁸—but also from the fact that in both Kṣemarāja stresses that his motive is to re-establish what he sees as the true, non-dualistic perspective of these texts, which, he says, had been overshadowed by the prevailing view, that of the Saiddhāntika dualists, an unjustifiable inroad into non-Saiddhāntika territory that had both imposed a less enlightened reading of their teachings and led to the suppression of elements of non-dualistic practice (*advaitācāraḥ*),⁵⁵⁹ such as the offering of fermented liquor to Svachchandabhairava, that were vital to the proper performance of their rites. Kṣemarāja has also left us his *Bhairavānukaraṇastotra*, a hymn to Svachchandabhairava in which he gives a non-dualistic reading of the symbolism of all the details of the visualization of this deity.

As in the works of Abhinavagupta, the philosophical basis of Kṣemarāja's exegesis was that of Utpaladeva's system, but though he was a disciple of Abhinavagupta, the Trika enters very little into his analysis. The system of esoteric Śākta doctrine and practice that animates his exegesis is rather that of the Krama. We could see this as evidence of a difference in religious perspective between the teacher and the pupil, and there certainly are such differences—we should be wary of the tendency to assume in line with the religious theory of unbroken transmission that disciples were mere clones of their teachers—but it may be more accurate to say that both propagated Krama-based analyses, Abhinavagupta of the Trika's *Mālinīvijayottara* and Kṣemarāja of the *Svacchanda* and *Netra*.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁸ E.g., *Svacchandoddyota*, vol. 5a, p. 211, ll. 9–10: *bṛhaṭṭikākārarājānakabhullakena*

⁵⁵⁹ On *advaitācāraḥ* see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 110–114, footnote 63.

⁵⁶⁰ For evidence of Kṣemarāja's reading the Krama, for him the highest of all religious systems, into his interpretation of the cults of Svachchandabhairava and Amṛteśabhairava see SANDERSON 1995, pp. 64–70.

OTHER WORKS BY KṢEMARĀJA

Kṣemarāja extended his non-dualistic exegesis beyond the *Svacchanda* and *Ne-tra*, technical Tantras mainly devoted to the prescription of ritual, to a wide range of texts, all of which have in common that they have no concern whatsoever with ritual but rather with devotional contemplation of ultimate reality as the means of its realization. Just as Kṣemarāja brought non-dualistic exegesis to those Tantras that appear to have been most widely followed in Kashmir, so with these works he sought to propagate the doctrines of his tradition among an even larger constituency, that is to say, those who were Śaiva by conviction and devotion but were not only those who had received formal initiation and were therefore engaged in the study of the Tantras and the performance of the rituals they prescribe. Thus he wrote a commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava*, a work of the Trika but one concerned entirely with methods of meditation that transcend the particularities of Mantra, Mudrā, Maṇḍala, deity, and ritual procedure that are the true criteria for distinguishing between the systems that make up the Śaiva Mantramārga.⁵⁶¹ This text's simple single-verse instructions on a wide variety of meditations no doubt rendered it accessible to this broader audience, a surmise supported by the fact that it is often found in Kashmirian manuscripts for personal devotional use along with other short, less technical Śaiva works. It is regrettable that only his commentary on the introductory verses has come down to us. Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya I, searching for the text in the eighteenth century, could find no manuscript of the whole and wrote his own commentary on the remainder, appending it to the small portion of Kṣemarāja's text that was accessible to him.⁵⁶²

Kṣemarāja also composed commentaries on a number of Śaiva devotional hymns, namely the *Sāmbapañcāśikā*, the *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, and the *Śivastotrāvalī* of Utpaladeva, a collection of hymns together with single devotional verses artificially arranged into hymns by later editors.⁵⁶³ The con-

⁵⁶¹ The Trika background of the text is revealed in the introductory verses (1–23).

⁵⁶² *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 143, ll. 9–14. The surviving portion of Kṣemarāja's commentary extends from its beginning to the end of the commentary on the last of the introductory verses (1–23, pp. 1–16).

⁵⁶³ Kṣemarāja, *Śivastotrāvalīvivṛti*, pp. 1, l. 14–2, l. 4 (his introduction): *īśvarapratyabhijñā-kāro vandyābhidhānaḥ śrīmadutpalācāryo 'smatparameṣṭhi satatasākṣātkṛtasvātmamaheśvaraḥ svaṃ rūpaṃ tathātvena parāṃśaṣṭum arthijanānujighṛkṣayā (ca) saṃgrahastotrajayastotrābhakti-stotrāṇy āhnikastutisūktāni ca kānicin muktakāṇy eva babandha. atha kadācit tāny eva tadvyā-miśrāṇi labdhvā śrīrāma ādityarājaś ca pṛthak pṛthak stotraśayyāyāṃ nyaveśayat. śrīviśvāvartas tu*

text of the use of these devotional works is not well known. But if we may judge from recent practice in Kashmir it is probable that they were in use not only among initiates but also, and perhaps more typically, among lay devotees, who chanted them while attending Śaiva rituals or when visiting Śiva shrines.

Then there are his commentaries on the *Śivasūtra* and the *Spandakārikā*. On the first we have his *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, and on the second his *Spandasamḍoha*, which comments only on the opening verse, and his *Spandanirṇaya*, which comments on the whole work. Here too we find a strong commitment to Krama-based readings. Indeed he considers that the Krama is the very essence of the *Spandakārikā*.⁵⁶⁴ In the case of the Aphorisms of Śiva (*Śivasūtra*) he does not make the same claim explicitly. However, it is implicit in his assertion that Vasugupta wrote the *Spandakārikā* in order to summarize the teachings contained in that text,⁵⁶⁵ and Krama interpretation is to the fore in Kṣemarāja's

vimśatyā stotrāṇi svātmotprekṣitanāmabhir vyavasthāpitavān iti kila śrūyate 'The author of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, my Guru's Guru's Guru, the Ācārya Utpala of venerable name, immersed at all times in immediate experience of the Śiva that is one's true identity, in order to meditate on his own nature and out of a desire to benefit those who sought [his guidance], composed the *Samgrahastotra*, *Jayastotra*, and *Bhaktistotra*, and also a number of single-verse poetic hymns for his daily devotions. Some time thereafter Rāma and Ādityarāja received the latter mixed up with the former and then edited them in the form of a series of [multi-verse] hymns. It is reported that Viśvāvarta then [re-]arranged them as twenty hymns with titles of his own invention'. It is Viśvāvarta's edition that Kṣemarāja follows, while recognizing its artificiality. For commenting on 1.2 he notices that the arrangement of the verses here is incoherent, since there is no vocative addressed to Śiva in the previous verse to justify the expression *bhavadbhakti*- 'devotion to you' in this. He puts this observation into the mouth of a critic and replies: 'Ask this question of Viśvāvarta. I am concerned only with the explanation of each individual verse' (p. 4, ll. 8–9: *katham iyaṃ stotraśayyeti śrīviśvāvarta eva praṣṭavyaḥ. vayaṃ tu sūktavyākhyānodyatāḥ*).

⁵⁶⁴ *Spandanirṇaya*, p. 74, ll. 15–18: *evaṃ copakramopasaṃhārayor mahārthasamputīkāraṃ darśayan tatsāratayā samastaśāṅkaropaniṣanmūrdhanyatām asyāviṣkaroti śāstrasya śrīmān vasuguptācāryaḥ* 'And by showing in this way that the Mahārtha encloses this Śāstra in its opening and closing verses the venerable Ācārya Vasugupta reveals that it stands at the summit of all Śiva's esoteric teachings, since it has that [system] as its essence'. His view of the Krama basis of the first verse is set out at length in his *Spandasamḍoha*. Kṣemarāja wrote his *Spandasamḍoha*, *Spandanirṇaya*, and *Śivasūtravimarśinī* in that order; see *Spandanirṇaya* p. 6, ll. 1–2: *nirṇītaṃ caivampṛāyaṃ mayaiva prathamāsūtramātravivarāṇe spandasamḍohe*; and *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 3, ll. 7–9: *tatpāramparyapṛāptāni spandasūtrāṇy asmābhiḥ spandanirṇaye samyaṃ nirṇītaṇi. śivasūtrāṇi tu nirṇīyante*.

⁵⁶⁵ *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 3, ll. 3–5: *etāni ca samyag adhigamya bhāṭṭasrikallaṭādyeṣu sacchisyeṣu prakāśitavān spandakārikābhiḥ ca saṃgrhitavān* 'And having correctly mastered these [Sūtras Vasugupta] revealed them to Bhāṭṭasrī Kallaṭa and others who were his true disciples and summarized them in the *Spandakārikā*.

analysis of a number of its key aphorisms.⁵⁶⁶

Finally, we have his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, a text in the form of Sūtras and an auto-commentary that claims to set out the essence of the doctrine taught by Utpaladeva in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* in order to enlighten persons who are experiencing the urge to achieve immersion in Śiva but lack the philosophical training necessary to master the original works.⁵⁶⁷ Here too he privileges the Krama, propounding its distinctive contemplation of the cyclical dynamism of cognition as the very heart of that philosophical system.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁶See his commentary on 1.6 (*śakticakrasaṃdhāne viśvasaṃhāraḥ*), 1.11 (*trīṭayabhoktā vīreśaḥ*), and 1.22 (*mahābradānusaṃdhānān mantravīryānubhavaḥ*). In that on 1.6 he identifies the ‘circle of powers’ (*śakticakram*) as that of ‘the venerable Śakti of Emission etc.’ (p. 21, l. 4–5: *śrīmatśṛṣṭyādiśakticakra-*). That he means the twelve Kālīs beginning with Śṛṣṭikālī can be inferred from his commentary on 1.11, since he states there that through continuous contemplation of the circle of powers one enters the state of identity with Manthānabhairava (p. 26, l. 14–27, l. 7). For in the *Spandanirṇaya* (p. 6, ll. 5–9) Kṣemarāja identifies Manthānabhairava as the leader of the circle of these goddesses, glossing the description of Śiva in the first verse as *śakticakravibhavaḥprabhavaḥ* (acc. sg.): *śaktīnām śṛṣṭiraktādimarīcīdevīnām cakram dvādaśātmā samūhas tasya yo vibhava udyogāvabhāsanacarvaṇavilāpanātmā kṛiḍādambaras tasya prabhavaḥ hetum. tā hi devyaḥ śrīmanmanthānabhairavaḥ cakreśvaram ālīngya sarvadaiva jagatsargādikṛiḍām sampādāyanti āmnāyaḥ* ‘[I praise Śaṅkara] who is **the source** (*prabhavaḥ*), the cause, **of the pervasive manifestation**, the energetic play that is [the cycle of] the urge to manifest, manifestation, the subjective relishing [of the manifest] and dissolution, **of the circle**, the twelvefold group, **of [his] powers**, of the [twelve] ray-goddesses Śṛṣṭi[kālī], Rakta[kālī], and the rest. For the teaching [of the Mahārtha] informs us that it is through their intimate connection with Manthānabhairava as the lord of their circle that they constantly accomplish the play of emitting, [sustaining,] and [withdrawing] the universe’.

⁵⁶⁷*Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, p. 37, ll. 8–10: *iha ye sukumāramatayo ’kṛtatikṣṇatarkaśāstrapariśramāḥ śaktipātonmiṣatpārameśvara* samāveśābhilāṣāḥ* (conj. : *samāveśābhilāṣiṇaḥ* Ed.) *katicid bhaktibhājas teṣām īśvarapratyabhijñopadeśatattvaṃ manāg unmīlyate* ‘Here I shall briefly reveal the essence of the teaching of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā[kārikā]* for the benefit of those rare devotees who being of undeveloped intellect have not undertaken training in the severe discipline of philosophical argument, yet are experiencing an urge towards immersion in Śiva emerging in themselves through the descent of [his] power’.

⁵⁶⁸This perspective is alluded to in the first of the benedictory verses: *namaḥ śivāya satatam pañcakṛtyavidhāyine | cidānandaghanasvātmāparamāṛthāvabhāśine* ‘Obeisance to Śiva who, constantly engaged in his five functions, makes manifest the ultimate reality of one’s identity pervaded by the bliss of consciousness’. The five functions are emission, stasis, withdrawal, obscuration, and revelation, following pan-Śaiva doctrine. But in this work Kṣemarāja teaches that from the esoteric point of view these are to be seen as operating within the flow of cognition, explaining this operation first in neutral terms, though in the spirit of the Krama (Sūtra 10 and commentary), and then directly with Krama terminology (Sūtra 11 and commentary). It is this Krama reading, I propose, that is intended in the opening verse, the first qualifier

THE ŚIVASŪTRA, SPANDAKĀRIKĀ, AND THEIR EXEGESIS

In addition to the commentaries of Kṣemarāja on the *Śivasūtra* and *Spandakārikā*,⁵⁶⁹ we have a commentary on the former (*Śivasūtravārtika*) by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, and on the latter we have a brief gloss by Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa (-*vṛtti*), and detailed analytic commentaries by Rājānaka Rāma (*Spandavivṛti*), [the Pāñcarātrika] Bhāgavatotpala (*Spandapradīpikā*), and Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin (*Spandapradīpikā*). Others existed but have not survived, such as that by Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa reported by Kṣemarāja.⁵⁷⁰

The study of the *Śivasūtra* in its own right is problematic. Many of its seventy-seven terse aphorisms are obscure in meaning both individually and in sequence, which has allowed considerable divergences between the interpretations of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Kṣemarāja. Moreover, they reveal no close attachment to the terminology and concepts of the Krama, the Trika, or any single scripture-based system so that we could clarify their meaning by drawing on its literature. One may say only that they present a creative epitome of doctrine and trans-ritual practice drawing, probably eclectically, from Kaula traditions that venerate Bhairava and the Mothers, teaching that the goal of practice is to realize that one is oneself the [*śakti*]cakreśvaraḥ, the deity that controls the diverse powers that constitute the universe of experience, establishing this realization first through withdrawal into the heart of consciousness and then through its expansion into the states that constitute the mundane awareness of the bound.⁵⁷¹ This model of transcendence followed by an expansion that

pañcavidhakarṭyavidhāyine expressing the reason (*hetau viśeṣaṇam*) for the second: 'Obeisance to Śiva who [since he is] constantly engaging in his five functions [of the manifesting of the object (*ābhāsanam*), immersion in the object (*raktiḥ*), subjective awareness of the perception (*vimarśanam*), laying down the impression of the perception in memory (*bijāvasthāpanam*), and completely dissolving all trace of contracted consciousness (*vilāpanam*)] makes manifest the ultimate reality of one's identity pervaded by the bliss of consciousness'. See also pp. 50, l. 7–51, l. 1 (Sūtra 12 and commentary) on the five goddesses Vāmeśvarī etc.; and pp. 58–59 (Sūtra 19 and commentary) on bringing about permanent immersion.

⁵⁶⁹We also have two summaries of his *Śivasūtravimarśinī*: the anonymous *Śivasūtravṛtti*, and the *Śivasūtravārtika* of the South Indian Varadarāja alias Kṛṣṇadāsa, pupil of Madhurāja, an ascetic of Madurai.

⁵⁷⁰*Spandanirṇaya*, p. 34, l. 12–13.

⁵⁷¹*Śivasūtra* 1.5: *udyamo bhairavaḥ* 'Bhairava is the primordial dynamism [of consciousness]; 1.6: *śakticakrasaṁdhāne viśvasaṁhārah* 'When one assimilates the circle of [his] powers the universe is withdrawn'; 1.7: *jāgratsvapnasuṣuptabhede turyābhogasambhavaḥ* '[Thereafter] there comes about the expansion of the Fourth [state back] into the divisions [of projected con-

causes the state of enlightenment to pervade the transcended is central to the Kālīkula, and the Aphorisms may well have drawn it directly or indirectly from that source. But there is much in them that cannot obviously be derived from it and several elements that cannot be traced to any other known scriptural source.

Since so much of the early Śākta literature has been lost or preserved only in quotations in the works of the Kashmirian exegetes it would be rash to try to assess the extent to which the aphorisms are a creative development. However, that they were thought to be so at a time when much more of that literature was current is implicit in the accounts of their origin given by the commentators. For these elevate them in a manner that allows for a degree of originality that would not be acceptable in a text claiming merely human authorship. Thus according to Rājānaka Rāma and Bhāgavatotpala the aphorisms were revealed to Vasugupta through oral transmission by a Siddha,⁵⁷² in the manner claimed for the Old Kashmiri Chummās. According to Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara directions given to Vasugupta by a Siddha led him to discover the aphorisms on Mt. Mahādeva.⁵⁷³ Kṣemarāja too held that Vasugupta found the aphorisms on this mountain, but attributes the instruction that led to their discovery not to a Siddha but to Śiva himself appearing to Vasugupta in a dream, thus lifting the text on to the level

sciousness, namely] the waking state, dream, and dreamless sleep'; 1.8–10: *jñānam jāgrat | svapno vikalpāḥ | aviveko māyā saṁsṛptam* 'The waking state [here] is sense-cognition; the dream state is [one's] conceptual constructions; the state of dreamless sleep is the absence of awareness [of transcendence], the state of inner self-concealment'; 1.11: *tritayabhoktā vīreṣaḥ* 'One who [continuously] experiences [these] three [as the Fourth] is [Bhairava,] the Lord of Heroes'; 1.21: *śuddhavidyodayāc cakreśatvasiddhiḥ* 'The result of the arising of non-dual awareness is that one is established as the Lord of the circle of [his] Powers'; 2.7: *mātrkācakrasambodhaḥ* '[Through the Guru the disciple] achieves realization of the circle of the Mothers'; 3.19: *ka-vargādiṣu māheśvaryādyāḥ paśumātaraḥ* 'Māheśvarī and the [other goddesses] are the Mothers for bound souls, [being manifest] in the gutturals and the classes [of the sounds of the syllabary that combine as conceptual construction]'.⁵⁷²

⁵⁷²Bhāgavatotpala, *Spandapradīpikā*, p. 83, ll. 15: *siddhamukhenāgatam rahasyam yat* 'The esoteric teaching that had come [to Vasugupta] through the oral instruction of a Siddha ...'; *Spandakārikāvivṛti*, p. 165, ll. 12–15: *guror vasuguptābhīdhānasya sāksāt siddhamukha-saṁkrāntasamastarahasyopaniṣadbhūtaspaṇdatattvāmṛtaniḥsyandasya ...* '...the Guru called Vasugupta, to whom the outflow of the nectar that is the hidden essence of all the esoteric [Śaiva scriptures] was transmitted directly from the lips of a Siddha'.

⁵⁷³Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, *Śivasūtravārtika* 1.3: *śrīmanmahādevagirau vasuguptaguroḥ purā | siddhādeśāt prādur āsan śivasūtrāṇi tasya hi* 'In the past the Aphorisms of Śiva were discovered on Mt. Mahādeva by the Guru Vasugupta following the instruction of a Siddha.'

of scriptural revelation,⁵⁷⁴ though he too knew a tradition that Vasugupta was the conduit to men of Kaula oral teaching, for he describes him as “one whose heart had been purified by the spiritual transmissions that he had received from numerous Śaiva Yoginīs and Siddhas”, a formulation that may well have been intended also to account for the eclectic character of the text.⁵⁷⁵

Remaining faithful to the text's character as a creative synthesis of Kaula tradition neither commentator has attempted to tie his interpretation to a single scripture-based system. Kṣemarāja, as I have stated above, shows a strong tendency to read the text in the terms of the Krama, but this is by no means his only exegetical resource in this commentary. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara's commentary, too, is relatively system-neutral, though he too on occasion uses language that echoes the Kālikula.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁴ *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, pp. 2, l. 7–3, l. 4: *kadācic cāsau dvaitadarśanādhivāsitaṣṭapraṇye jīvaloke rahasyasampradāyo mā vicchedīty āśayato 'nugrhyon-miṣṭapratibhaḥ kṛto yathātra mahābhṛti mahatī śīlātale rahasyam asti tad adhigamyānugraha-yogyesu prakāśayeti. prabuddhaś cāsāv anviṣyan tāṃ mahatīm śīlām karasparśanamātra-parivartanataḥ samvādikṛtasvapnām pratyakṣikṛtyemāni śivopaniṣatsaṃgraharūpāni śivasūtrāṇi tataḥ samāsasāda* ‘Once Paramaśiva, desiring to benefit mankind by preventing the esoteric tradition from dying out in a society that was almost completely permeated by the dualistic doctrine [of the Saiddhāntikas], favoured that [Guru Vasugupta on Mt. Mahādeva by appearing to him] in a dream and causing him to understand that there was an esoteric teaching [inscribed] on a huge rock on that mountain and that he was to learn it and reveal it to those who deserved to be so favoured. When he awoke he looked for that rock and turning it over by a mere touch of his hand saw that it confirmed his dream. He then acquired from it these aphorisms, which are the epitome of the esoteric Śaiva scriptures’.

⁵⁷⁵ *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 2, ll. 3–5: *pārameśvaranānāyoginīsiddhasatsampradāyapavritra-hṛdayaḥ*.

⁵⁷⁶ See e.g. (1) *Śivasūtravārtika* 1.52–53b on *tritayabhoktā vireśaḥ: evaṃ marīcinicayo guṇa-trayasamudbhavaḥ | vaikalpika jagaty asmin vamanagrāsataṭparah | tatrāpi grāsakṛd yas-māt tena vireśvaraḥ smṛtaḥ* ‘In this way the mass of rays that arises from the three Qualities [that are manifest in the three states of waking, dream, and dreamless sleep] is intent on projecting and devouring [the contents of consciousness] in this universe of conceptual constructions. He is called the Lord of Heroes (Vireśvara) here because he in turn devours these [rays]’; cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, 4.9ab (*Kālikākramapaṭala*): *sphurad-vamanasamgrāsarāviki sṛṣṭkārīkā*; f. 216v (*Siddhayaogeśvaravidhipaṭala* 34cd): *aśeṣacakracakreśa-vamanagrāsaniṣṭhurām*; Arṇasiṃha, *Mahānayaprakāśa* 226: *āsām dviṣaṭkadevinām vamanagrāsataṭparām | devīm trayodaśīm vande tādātmyapratipattaye*; (2) *Śivasūtravārtika* 2.12–15b (on *garbhe cittavikāso viśiṣṭo 'vidyāsvapnaḥ* ‘The mind expands within the source [and because of that] ignorance sleeps’): *prakāśānandasārāntarvyāvartanabalād bhṛṣam | viṣayebhyo nivṛttasya manasaś cinmayī sthitiḥ | paro vikāśaś ciccandracandrikāmṛtanirbharaḥ | sravacchāktāmṛtāpūrā-plutānandijaganmayaḥ | tatsadbhāvād avidyāyāḥ †prathayantyā† dharādibhiḥ | tattvajālairalamgrāsayuktyā svapno vilopanam* ‘The mind becomes consciousness when it turns back from

As for the *Spandakārikā*, all our authors agree that it presents the essentials of the Aphorisms, Kṣemarāja claiming that Vasugupta himself was its author,⁵⁷⁷ and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Bhāgavatotpala attributing it to Kallaṭa, his pupil.⁵⁷⁸ But in fact while there is much that is common to both texts, notably the model

sense-objects by force of intense reversion into the essence that is [the fusion] of light and bliss. This is its full expansion. It is filled with the nectar that is the light of the moon of consciousness and it is fused with the world now blissful because it has been completely drenched by the outsurging flood of the nectar of [Bhairava's] Power. Because of this there arises the sleep, the elimination through the process of Complete Devouring (*alamgrāsaḥ*), of the ignorance that †...†[it] with the entangling Tattvas from earth [to Śiva]'. The reading *prathayan-tyā dharādibhiḥ | tattvajālair* yields no appropriate sense that I can see. Perhaps we should emend to *vyathayan-tyā dharādibhiḥ* 'that torments [it] with the entangling Tattvas from earth [to Śiva]'. The expression *prakāśānanda-* is frequently encountered in texts of the Kālikula; see, e.g., *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 156r4: *yatra kṣayam idam yāti prānādyam sarvam eva hi | yatodeti punar bhūyo prakāśānandalakṣaṇam | ciddhāma yat paraṃ sūkṣmaṃ kāraṇeṣu api kāraṇam | tam śivam paramaṃ devaṃ svasaktiparimaṇḍitam*; *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 34v4: *vikāśakuñ-canenaiva prakāśānandayogataḥ*; f. 196r7: *triśrṣā vīryamālinī | prakāśānandamadyasthā prol-lasanmantravigrahā*; and f. 196v1: *prakāśānandamadyasthā kādyā kaṅkālabhairavī*. The term *alamgrāsaḥ* too is a feature of the Krama texts; see Arṇasimha, *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa*, f. 127r2–3 (v. 225cd): *devikākramasadbhāvo 'py alamgrāsaikaghasmarah*; *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* (Triv.) 7.99ab: *alamgrāsapravṛttena kriyāveśena tattvataḥ*; *Vātulanāthasūtravṛtti* on 2: *kālākālakaḥpranottirṇā-lamgrāsavapuṣā mahānirihena*; on 9: *cāturātmyena udyogābhāsacarvaṇālamgrāsavapuṣā svasva-rūpāvasthitih*; on 10: *udyogābhāsacarvaṇālamgrāsaviśrāntirūpāṇām mahāsaṃvidrasṃmīnām*; *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka* 5cd: *namaḥ samastabhāvaughahaṭhālamgrāsabhānave*; and the commen-tary on the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaṣṭakāśa* 4.6: *bhagavatyaḥalamgrāsaparyā*.

⁵⁷⁷ *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 3, ll. 4–7: *etāni ca samyag adbhigamya bhāṭṭaśrīkallatādyeṣu sacchisyeṣu prakāśitavān spandakārikābhiḥ ca saṃgrhītavān* 'And [Vasugupta] having mastered these [Apho-risms] revealed them to Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa and other worthy disciples and then summarized them in the *Spandakārikā*'.

⁵⁷⁸ Bhāgavatotpala, *Spandapradīpikā*, p. 83, ll. 15–17: *ayam atra kilāmnāyaḥ siddhamukhenā-gataṃ rahasyaṃ yat | tad bhāṭṭakallatendur vasuguptaguror avāpya śiṣyāṇām | avabodhārtham anuṣṭuppañcāśikayā saṃgrahaṃ kṛtavān* 'On this matter the following tradition is reported. The moon-like Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa received from the Guru Vasugupta the esoteric teaching that had come to him through the oral instruction of a Siddha and summarized it in fifty verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre' (for the point of the moon-metaphor see footnote 581); and Bhāskara, *Śivasūtravārtika* 1.4–5: *sarahaṣyāṇy ataḥ so 'pi prādād bhāṭṭāya sūraye | śrīkallatāya so 'py evaṃ catuḥkhaṇḍāni tāny atha | vyākaroṭ trikam etebhyaḥ spandasūtraiḥ svakais tataḥ | tattvārtha-cintāmaṇyākhyatikayā khaṇḍam antimam* 'He transmitted [the aphorisms] in four sections, along with [an explanation of their] esoteric teaching, to the learned Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa, who explained the [first] three of these in his own *Spandakārikā* and the last section in a commen-tary entitled *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi*'. Citations from the *Tattvārthacintāmaṇi*, now lost, survive in *Tantrāloka* 10.208 (paraphrase), *-viveka* thereon (quotation); *Tantrāloka* 16.51 (paraphrase), *-viveka* thereon (quotation); and *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 138, ll. 5–8 (quotation).

of liberation through transcendence and expansion, there is nothing in them that supports this supposed intimate relationship and much that goes against it, most notably the absence from the Aphorisms of the doctrine that Śiva's essence is the vibrancy of consciousness (*spandaḥ*, *spandatattvam*) that gives the *Spandakārikā* its title. Here too no single Kaula system can be identified as the text's basis. Nonetheless it is probable that the Kālikula was a major element in the milieu within which this text emerged. The term *spandaḥ* is certainly much used in the scriptures of that tradition.⁵⁷⁹

The short gloss on the *Spandakārikā* by Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa supports the view of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Bhāgavatotpala that the root-text was indeed composed by Kallaṭa and not by Vasugupta as Kṣemarāja maintained. For it lacks its own initial benedictory verse and nowhere gives any indication of separate authorship. The second of three post-colophonic verses in the edition of the text does assert that the *Spandakārikā* is by Vasugupta: "[Here] Kallaṭa has clarified the nectar of the *Spandakārikā* that the venerable Vasugupta extracted from the ocean of the *Śivasūtra* taught to him on Mt. Mahādeva by Śiva in a dream".⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁹ See *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, f. 190v3–5 (45.120–122): *ekaḥ śivo mahāmūlaṃ nirupādhir anantakaḥ | vijñānājñānasaṃpūrṇaḥ sarvākāras tu mantharaḥ | 121 nistarāṅgārṇavākāraḥ paritrptaḥ parāparaḥ | susāntamūrtiḥ sarvātmā nirvāṇeśo 'tinirmalaḥ | 122 tasya śaktiḥ svakaṃ vīryaṃ ciddhāmānandagocaram | vyaktaṃ vyaktivibhedena spandanānandasundaram*; *Ṣaṭka* 2, f. 5r4: *spandānandodarāvartaviśrāntāyāmālāya te | namaś ciccakraviśrāmaprasaradvīśvamūrtaye*; *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 107v7–8 (15.9c–10): *yā parollāsini śaktiḥ parāparavibhāgagā | jñānakriyānilayāni icchā ciccakramadhyagā | spandodaragatā sūkṣmā susūkṣmāmṛta*syandinī* (conj. : *samdhinī* Cod.); *Ṣaṭka* 3, f. 95r4 (13.30): *tatspandacakramadhyastho smaren mantraṃ mahādbhutam | iyaṃ sā devadeveśi mantrasuddhiḥ parāparā*; *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 58r5–6 (4.17–18): *jñānaṃ jñeyam tathā jñātā jñaptigarbhān *nibhālayan* (corr. : *nibhālayam*) | *layam yāti pare dhāmni nīrahaṃkāradharminī | cidānandaparispaṇḍagarbhasthaspandarūpayā | vyāptā paramayā bhāti *śādhvāvarāṇāntagā* (*āntagā* corr. : *āmtigā* Cod.); *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, f. 22v4 (7.206ab) (on the twelve Kālis, in the *Uttaragharāmnāya* section): *sphuraty antargatā ghūrmir anākhyam spandam uttamam*; *Devīvyardhaśataka*, f. 11r2–3 (v. 127): *akathyaṃ vā(k)kramātītam akulam ca kuloditam | spandanāntaramadhyastham ātmāgamam subhāvitam*.

⁵⁸⁰ *Spandakārikāvṛtti*, p. 40, ll. 3–6: **dugdham* (em. : *dṛbdham* Ed.) *mahādevagirau mahēśasvapnopadiṣṭāc chivasūtrasindhoḥ | spandāmṛtam yad vasuguptapādaiḥ śrīkallaṭas tat prakāṭicakāra*. The edition's reading *dṛbdham* is unacceptable. For while the *Spandakārikā* can be 'composed' (*dṛbdha*-) the 'nectar that is the *Spandakārikā*' (*spandāmṛtam*) cannot be 'composed from the ocean of the *Śivasūtra*'. The metaphor requires the nectar to be 'extracted' from that ocean, in allusion to the Purāṇic myth of the extraction of nectar from the ocean of milk. This meaning is provided by the graphically similar *dugdham*; cf. Nārāyaṇa, *Stavacintāmaṇi* 1.10: *māyājalodarāt samyag uddhṛtya vimalikṛtam | śivajñānaṃ svato dugdham dehy ehi haraḥsa naḥ*, on which Kṣemarāja comments as follows: *svato dugdham tvayaiva kalāślāghyenānītam*.

But the verse is suspect, since it appears in only some manuscripts, and if it were original Bhāgavatotpala, who knew this commentary,⁵⁸¹ could hardly have maintained the view that the *Spandakārikā* is Kallaṭa's. The motive for interpolation is clear, namely to make Kallaṭa himself support the view of Kṣemarāja.

Kallaṭa's brief and lucid gloss stays firmly within the parameters of the text itself, eschewing, therefore, all reference to the specific doctrines of the Śākta traditions, unlike that of Kṣemarāja, which, as we have seen, grounds the text in the Krama, though it also recognizes its transcendent, syncretistic character by connecting some passages with the Trika.

The commentary of Rājānaka Rāma, the pupil of Utpaladeva, likewise adheres closely to the explicit content of the text, relying also on Kallaṭa's gloss. We find no attempts to clarify its meaning by making connections with the Trika or Krama. If he strays beyond the parameters of his text it is only to the extent that he applies the philosophical concepts of his teacher.⁵⁸²

Bhāgavatotpala's commentary (*Spandapradīpikā*) is of a very different character. As a Pāñcarātrika Vaiṣṇava its author attempts to show through abundant citations from Pāñcarātrika sources, both scriptural and exegetical—in the latter case he draws extensively on the philosophico-devotional treatises of the Kashmirian Pāñcarātrika Vāmanadatta (son of Devadatta) as well as a wide range of Śaiva texts—that the doctrine of the *Spandakārikā* is equally at the heart of this non-Śaiva tradition.

As for the unpublished *Spandapradīpikā* of Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin,⁵⁸³ that is written from the perspective of a Kashmirian Śaiva versed in the works of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta but without strong leanings towards the Krama or the Trika, though in the Maṅgala verse at the beginning of his commentary

⁵⁸¹He refers to the commentary as Kallaṭa's in the introductory verses of his *Spandapradīpikā*. After reporting the tradition that the *Spandakārikā* is Kallaṭa's summary of the teaching of the *Śivasūtra* (see footnote 578 on p. 407) he adds (p. 83, ll. 18–19): *yad api tadartha vyākhyāyotsnāprakāṭikṛto 'sti teneṣat | mohaniśāmadhyagatā mandadṛṣas tad api nārtham iṅṣante* 'Although he made the meaning of those [fifty verses] slightly clearer with the moonlight of a commentary those in the midst of the night of delusion with weak sight are still unable to make it out'.

⁵⁸²See, e.g., *Spandakārikāvivṛti*, p. 25, where he applies Utpaladeva's distinctive classification of the four levels of contracted agency of consciousness (*parimitapramāṭṛtā*), namely those of identification with the body (*dehāpramāṭṛtā*), intellect (*buddhipramāṭṛtā*), vital energy (*prāṇāpramāṭṛtā*), and the void (*śūnyāpramāṭṛtā*).

⁵⁸³The manuscript, which to my knowledge, is the only one to have survived, breaks off in the commentary on the last verse of the work proper, before its two closing verses of veneration and benediction.

on the second chapter he venerates the essence of the Trika that transcends the Śaktis Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā.⁵⁸⁴ In the chapter colophons he is identified as a worshipper of Śrīvidyā, that is to say, of the Śākta goddess Tripurasundarī⁵⁸⁵ and this fact is reflected in the introduction to the commentary. For in its verses 11–14 he prepares for his task by meditating on an unnamed Maṇḍala, beginning with obeisance to Gaṇeśa, Dharma, Varuṇa, and Kubera at its gates and then dissolving it stage by stage into the point (*binduḥ*) at its centre. The stages are (1) the four gates, then (2) three circles, followed by sets of (3) sixteen, (4) eight, (5) fourteen, (6) ten, (7) ten again, (8) eight and (9) three.⁵⁸⁶ The Maṇḍala, then, is that of Śrīvidyā, which alone has this structure. There is an unusual feature, however, in the deities of the four outer gates. This arrangement is not found in any form of the Śrīvidyā known to me, but does occur, and is probably peculiar to, the Kaula system taught in the *Devīrahasya* (*Parārahasya*), where these four are worshipped as the door-guardians (*dvārapālāḥ*) of its Yantras for initiation (Paṭala 1) and in its worship of the initiation Guru (Paṭala 60). The Kaulism of this text, which was well known in Kashmir,⁵⁸⁷ contains no trace of the terminology of Kashmirian non-dualism and appears to be East Indian in character, though it was probably composed or revised in Kashmir since it has integrated the local Kashmirian goddesses into its pantheon,⁵⁸⁸ and consequently a number of Kashmirian *Parīṣiṣṭas* which provide *Pañcāṅgas* for their worship within the same ritual parameters have been published with

⁵⁸⁴Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin, *Spandapradīpikā*, f. 5v18–19: *yad anuttaram apūrvam parāparāparā-parākalātītam | śuddhāśuddhasvabhāvam *tad* (em. : *tam* cod.) *upāsmahe śaḍardhasārākhyam*.

⁵⁸⁵E.g., f. 5v16–17: *iti śrīmacchrīvidyopāsakaśrībhaṭṭārakasvāmikṛtaspaṇḍapradīpikāyām prathamam ullāsaḥ*.

⁵⁸⁶Bhaṭṭāraka, *Spandapradīpikā*, f. 1r16–18 (*ārambhaślokaḥ* 11–12b): 11 *gaṇeśadharma-varuṇa*kuberān* (corr. : *kubīrān* cod.) *praṇipatya ca | caturdvāraṃ trivṛttānuṣoḍaśārṇāṣṭapallavam | 12 *caturdaśadaśadaśavasuvahnīsadaśrayān* (*vasu* em. *vasva* Cod.).

⁵⁸⁷There are, for example, six Kashmirian manuscripts of the *Devīrahasya*, one of them on birch-bark, listed in the catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in collection of the Research and Publication Department in Srinagar (RAINA 1989, p. 40) and three in the collection of the Banaras Hindu University (TRIPĀTHĪ 1971, p. 750).

⁵⁸⁸Thus among its Mantras are those of Śārikā, Śāradā, Mahārājñī, Jvālāmukhī and Bhīḍā. Similarly, the affiliated *Uddhārakośa* classifies ten of the goddesses of the *Devīrahasya*'s Mantra-pantheon as Great Vidyās (*mahāvidyāḥ*), following the model of East Indian Śāktism. But whereas there the Ten Great Vidyās (*daśa mahāvidyāḥ*) are Tripurasundarī, Lakṣmī, Tārā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Mātāṅgī, Dakṣiṇakālī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī and Bagalāmukhī, here they are Tripurasundarī, Lakṣmī, Tārā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Mātāṅgī and the local goddesses Śāradā, Śārikā, Rājñī, Bhīḍā, and Jvālāmukhī.

it.⁵⁸⁹ We learn nothing more about Bhaṭṭāraka from his commentary; but perhaps he is identical with the Kashmirian Bhaṭṭāraka Ānanda whose commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava* (*Vijñānakaumudī*) was completed, according to its concluding verses, in [Kali] 4774 (= A.D. 1672).⁵⁹⁰ For Bhaṭṭāraka Ānanda identifies himself, like our commentator, as a follower of the Śrīvidyā, and refers to his preparation for composition in similar terms.⁵⁹¹

It is at least certain that the author was a Kashmirian. When explaining the term *śabdarāśisamutthasya śaktivargasya* ‘the set of Śaktis that arises from the syllabary’ in *Spandakārikā* 3.13b he gives as an alternative the interpretation that it refers to the eight goddesses Amā, Kāmā, Cārvaṅgī, Ṭaṅkadharīṇī, Tārā, Pārvatī, Yakṣiṇī and Śārikā. This places the matter beyond reasonable doubt, since this series of goddesses is peculiarly Kashmirian. Śārikā is one of the lineage-goddesses (*kuladevī*) of the Kashmirian brahmins and is venerated in the form of a rock at the Pradyumnapiṭha on the hill Hār^aparbuth (Śārikāparvata) in Srinagar with the other seven goddesses from Amā to Yakṣiṇī as her retinue.⁵⁹²

THE ŚĀKTA ŚAIVISM OF THE MAITHILA KAULS

The East Indian Śāktism seen in the *Devīrahasya*, mentioned above in connection with Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin’s commentary on the *Spandakārikā*, is also found in ritual manuals written by the seventeenth-century Kashmirian scholar Sāhib Kaul for the worship of Tripurasundarī (*Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati*), Bhuvaneśvarī (*Hṛllekhāpaddhati*), and Dakṣiṇakālī (*Śyāmāpaddhati*). The Kauls, though subsequently integrated as a distinguished division of Kashmirian brahmin society, were Maithila Mādhyandiniya Yajurvedins who had come to Kashmir

⁵⁸⁹The term Pañcāṅga denotes in this context a set of five texts: a verse Paṭala outlining the cult, a prose Paddhati that sets out the procedure and Mantras of worship in full, a verse Kavaca invoking the goddess’s protection, a verse hymn of a thousand names of the goddess (*sahasranāmakam*), and a poetic hymn (*stotram*, *stavarājah*) to the same.

⁵⁹⁰*Vijñānakaumudī*, p. 63, v. 3: *vedasaptarṣivedāntayugābdamadhapakṣatau | vijñānakau-mudīm etām bhaṭṭānando vyakāsayat.*

⁵⁹¹*Vijñānakaumudī*, p. 63, l. 1: *śrīvidyānugrahāvāptaprekṣāleśas*

⁵⁹²Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin, *Spandapradīpikā*, f. 21r16–18: *tathā cānyathā: amā kāmā cārvaṅgī ṭaṅkadharīṇī tārā pārvatī yakṣiṇī śārikā ityādirūpasya ca śaktivargasya bhogyatām gataḥ san* Bhaṭṭārakasvāmin’s reason for mentioning these eight is evident from their names and Mantras: each name begins with a sound that is the first in one of the eight sound-classes (*vargāḥ*) that make up that syllabary; and the Mantra of each Śakti contains the same sound in the form of a seed-syllable.

from northern Bihar during the period of Muslim rule, probably after the incorporation of Kashmir into the Mughal empire in 1586; and it is very likely that it was they that brought in and sustained this new constellation of Kaula observance.⁵⁹³ Sāhib Kaul, though faithful to his East Indian heritage in his Paddhatis, venerated the Kashmirian goddess Śārikā as his lineage deity⁵⁹⁴ and wrote a number of devotional works in which the Śākta Śaiva tradition of his adopted homeland rooted in the non-dualistic doctrines of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta is fully integrated. We see this, for example, in his *Sac-cidānandakandalī*, *Śivaśaktivilāsa*, *Sahajārcanaṣṭikā*, and *Nijātmabodha*. This tradition is also accommodated in his *Devīnāmavilāsa*,⁵⁹⁵ a poetic work in full-blown Mahākāvya style that is based on the non-Kashmirian *Bhavānīśahasranāma* and interprets in Cantos 6 to 15 the meaning of each of the thousand names of the Goddess given in that text.⁵⁹⁶

Other works in this tradition are the *Gurubhaktistotra* and *Gurustuti* of his pupil Cidrūpa Kaul, the *Sadānandalāsyā* of Sadānanda Kaul, another of his pupils, the *Bhairavīśaktistotra* (modelled on Abhinavagupta's *Bhairavastotra*), the *Śrīnāthastotra* and *Tripurasundarīstotra* of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭāraka, the *Gurustotra* of Jyotiṣprakāśa Kaul, and, by Jyotiṣprakāśa Kaul's pupil Govinda Kaul of the Dār lineage (*dāravaṃśodbhavaḥ*), a commentary (*-padapradīpikā*) on that hymn, a *Gurustutiratnamālā*, and a hymn to Svachchandaḥairava, the *Svacchandamahēśvarāṣṭaka*, the last another indication of the Kauls' assimilation of the local Śaiva tradition.

⁵⁹³On the Maithila origin of the Kauls of Kashmir and their religious tradition see SANDERSON 2004, pp. 361–366.

⁵⁹⁴See the 17th and final verse of his *Śārikāstava*, f. 53v1–2: *stotraṃ mantroddhāry adah śārikāyāḥ sāhibkaulo vaṃśadevyāś cakāra* 'Sāhib Kaul has composed this hymn to his lineage goddess Śārikā from which [the letters that make up] her Mantra may be extracted'.

⁵⁹⁵See, e.g., *Devīnāmavilāsa* 2.52–54, which allude to the Trika (*parādidevīśvara*) and mention Netranātha/Amṛteśabhairava (*netreśa*). Canto 3 elaborates the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* of Kṣemarāja; see, e.g., 3.2: *mahādvaye darśanarājanāje prasiddhasiddhāpratimaprabhāvaḥ | citiḥ svatantrākḥilasiddhisiddhiḥ pūrṇo 'pi śūnyo jayasi svabhātaḥ* (echoing *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* 1.1: *citiḥ svatantrā viśvasiddhihetuḥ*).

⁵⁹⁶*Devīnāmavilāsa* 6.2: *śambhuś cakre yāni nāmāni devadevyāḥ spaṣṭaṃ pūrvam uddeśa-pūrvam | sāhibkaulas tāni bhaktyekavaśyo vṛttair arthaṃ lakṣayadbhir babandha*.

CHRONOLOGY

To determine the chronology of the Kashmirian Śaiva literature in its most creative phase we have only three precise dates, found in concluding verses at the end of three of Abhinavagupta's works. These report that his *Kramastotra* was completed in [40]66 (= A.D. 991), his *Bhairavastotra* in [40]68 (= A.D. 993), and his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivismarśinī* in [40]90 (= A.D. 1015).⁵⁹⁷

These dates enable us determine approximately both the dates of his predecessors, where they are connected to him in a known preceptorial sequence, and those of his successors Kṣemarāja and Yogarāja. If for want of any more precise means of measurement we assume preceptorial generations of twenty-five years and active lives of fifty, and allow leeway on either side of the earliest and latest of the three dated works to approximate the active life of Abhinavagupta as c. 975–1025, then Somānanda will have been active c. 900–950, Utpaladeva c. 925–975, Lakṣmaṇagupta and Rājānaka Rāma c. 950–1000, Kṣemarāja c. 1000–1050, and Yogarāja c. 1025–1075.

As for the Gurus of the Krama, Bhūtirāja, as Abhinavagupta's teacher, will have been active c. 950–1000. Jñānanetra, then, will have been active c. 850–900, Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇikā c. 875–925, Erakanātha, Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Hrasvanātha c. 900–950, and Cakrabhānu (Bhūtirāja's Guru) c. 925–975, Cakrabhānu's disciples Īśānī and Prabodhanātha c. 950–1000, Nandaka and Jaiyaka c. 975–1025, Sajjana and Paṅkaka, c. 1000–1025, Someśvara and Nāga c. 1025–1075, and Arṇasiṃha c. 1050–1100. This crude calculation receives independent support from Kalhaṇa's report that Cakra-

⁵⁹⁷ *Kramastotra*, v. 30: *ṣaṭṣaṣṭhināmake varṣe navamyām asite 'hani | mayābhinavaguptena mārḡaśīrṣe stutaḥ śivalḥ* 'I Abhinavagupta have composed this hymn to Śiva on the 9th Tithi, a dark day, in Mārḡaśīrṣa, in year 66.'; *Bhairavastotra*, v. 10: *vasurasapaṇṣe kṛṣṇadaśamyām abhinavaguptaḥ stavam imam akarot* 'Abhinavagupta has composed this hymn on the 19th of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa of [the year] Vasus(8)-flavours(6) [68]'; and *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivismarśinī*, concluding v. 15: *iti navatime 'smin vatsare 'ntyē yugāṃśe tithiśaśi-jaladhisthe mārḡaśīrṣāvasāne | jagati vihitabodhām īśvarapratyabhijñāṃ vyavrṇuta paripūrṇāṃ preritaḥ śambhupādaiḥ* 'Thus, on the whole *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* that has enlightened mankind, [Abhinavagupta,] instigated by [his] venerable [teacher] Śambhu[nātha], has completed [this] commentary, at the end of Mārḡaśīrṣa in this 90th year in the last of the [four] Yugas [Kali] in the [year] lunar days(15)-moon(1)-oceans (4) [= 4115].' When years are given in Kashmir with the century omitted, as here, they pertain to the Laukika era, also called Saptarṣi, which is counted from 3076 B.C. We can deduce that the omitted century is the 40th (4066, 4068, and 4090) because the last date is further specified as falling in year 4115 of the Kali era, which is counted from 3102 B.C.

bhānu was punished while his Guru Hrasvanātha was the minister of war and peace under Yaśaskara. It appears from that account that this event occurred at the very end of the king's reign, which began in 939 and ended in 948.

Other authors of the Krama can be less narrowly dated. The anonymous author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* wrote after Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975–1025) and before Jayaratha in the thirteenth century.⁵⁹⁸ Śrīvatsa, author of the *Cidgaganacandrikā* wrote after Arṇasiṃha (fl. c. 1050–1100), since he draws on the latter's *Mahānayaprakāśa*,⁵⁹⁹ and very probably before c. 1300. This posterior limit is set by the probable date of the South Indian Maheśvarānanda, since he cites the *Cidgaganacandrikā* in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*.⁶⁰⁰

The certain limits of Maheśvarānanda's activity are widely separated. He was active after c. 1175, because Śivānanda, the Guru of his Guru⁶⁰¹ cites the Saiddhāntika Paddhati of Somaśambhu,⁶⁰² which was completed towards the end of the eleventh century,⁶⁰³ and he cannot have been active later than about 1500, since Lakṣmīdhara (1497–1539) quotes verses of the *Kāmakalāvilāsa* of Puṇyānandayogin,⁶⁰⁴ who was one preceptorial generation later than Maheśvarānanda.⁶⁰⁵ But the range can be narrowed to the decades around 1300 if the Śākta Śaiva Amṛtānandayogin who has given us three works on the worship of Tripurasundarī, the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, the *Saubhāgyasudhodaya*, and the *Cidvilāsastava*,⁶⁰⁶ and was a disciple of Puṇyānanda⁶⁰⁷ and therefore two

⁵⁹⁸For the succession down to Arṇasiṃha see p. 294; for the date of Cakrabhānu's punishment see p. 283; and for Jayaratha's knowledge of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* see pp. 310 and 313.

⁵⁹⁹See p. 299.

⁶⁰⁰*Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, pp. 27, 51, 68, 70, etc.

⁶⁰¹See, e.g., *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, pp. 111–112 (*yathoktam asmatparamagurubhiḥ śrīkramavāsanāyām*: ... [= Śivānanda, *Subhagodayavāsanā*, v. 21]); p. 127, ll. 11–14 (*yathoktam asmatparamagurubhiḥ śrīsubhagodaye*: ... [= Śivānanda, *Subhagodaya*, v. 69]).

⁶⁰²He does so in his *Nityāśoḍaśikāṛṇava-rjuvimarśinī* p. 225, ll. 10–11. The passage cited = BRUNNER 1963–1998, pt. 2, p. 203, v. 5.

⁶⁰³See p. 422.

⁶⁰⁴Vrajavallabha DVIVEDA, *Nityāśoḍaśikāṛṇava*, Skt. introd., p. xviii.

⁶⁰⁵Maheśvarānanda's teacher's teacher, Śivānanda, was a pupil of Svātmānanda (*Nityāśoḍaśikāṛṇava-rjuvimarśinī*, p. 2, ll. 1–2); and between Svātmānanda and Puṇyānanda there were three preceptorial generations: Svātmānanda→Trilocaneśa→Deveśa→Keśaveśa→Puṇyānanda (Amṛtānandayogin, *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.19d–21c).

⁶⁰⁶The author calls himself Amṛtānandayogin in his *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.21 and is named thus or as Amṛtānandanāthayogin in the colophons of that work and his *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*.

⁶⁰⁷*Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.21cd, in the account of his spiritual lineage: *tasmāt puṇyānando mamāmṛtānandayogino nāthaḥ*; *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*, p. 19, ll. 7–8: *etat kāmakalāvilāse 'py*

generations later than Maheśvarānanda, is identical with the Amṛtānandayogin who wrote the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*, a treatise on poetics. Nothing in the latter proves conclusively that this is so. But there is more than the mere agreement of names to judge by. For the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* shows that its author was indeed a Śākta Śaiva devotee of Tripurasundarī and expresses this in terms so similar to those found in the Tantric works of Amṛtānandayogin and others in his region, time, and tradition, that this together with the identity of the names makes single authorship very probable. Thus in its first verse the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* venerates the primal couple (*ādyam mithunam*), describing them as immersed in the blissful relish of their union, a single deity whose two ‘feet’, symbolizing their dual power, are intent on the creation of the universe.⁶⁰⁸ Similarly, the *Cidvilāsastava* venerates in its opening verse the blissful fusion (*sāmarasya-*) of Śiva and Śakti, embodying the self-manifest light of reality (*prakāśaḥ*) and its innate power of creative ideation (*vimarśaḥ*) as the ‘supreme sandal’ (*parā pādukā*) of the Guru Paramaśiva (*paraśivātmano guroḥ*), that is to say, in keeping with South Indian Śākta Śaiva symbolism, as the hidden, unitary source of that dyad.⁶⁰⁹ The equation of the object of veneration with the Guru, that is to say, with the deity as the source of the author’s Guru lineage, might be thought to be a striking point of difference between these two verses. But in fact the difference is merely that the equation is explicit in the second and implicit in the first. For the ‘primal couple’ (*ādyam mithunam*) of the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* is a term of art in this South Indian Śākta Śaiva literature for Paramaśiva and his Śakti in their role as the first teacher and his consort under the names Caryānātha and Tripurasundarī or Kāmeśvarī, worshipped at the centre of the central triangle of the Śrīcakra upon the central point that represents Paramaśiva in his ultimate nature, the supreme bliss in which this polarity is fused in undifferentiated unity.⁶¹⁰ As for the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*’s notion that the two feet of this

asmadgurubhiḥ prapañcitam.

⁶⁰⁸ *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* 1.1–2: *jagadvaicitryajanana-jāgarūkapadadvayam | aviyogarasābhijñam ādyam mithunam āśraye.*

⁶⁰⁹ *Cidvilāsastava* 1: *svaprakāśaśivamūrtir ekikā tadvimarśatanur ekikā tayoh | sāmarasyavapur isyate parā pādukā paraśivātmano guroḥ.* Cf. the hidden third and fourth feet of the Guru in *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, p. 4, ll. 16–22, and the equating of the ‘sandal’ (*śrīpādukā*) with the innermost state of consciousness as the highest object of reverence *ibid.*, p. 96, ll. 12–22.

⁶¹⁰ See Vidyānandanātha, *Nityāśoḍaśikārṇava-artharatnāvalī*, p. 3, Maṅgala verse 2: *ādyam mithunam ārabhya svagurvantaṃ krameṇa tu | vande gurvaugham* ‘I venerate in due order the Guru lineage that begins from the primal couple and ends with my own teacher’. For the identity of the this primal couple see *ibid.* p. 218, l. 13–219, l. 11: *ādau prakāśavimarśasāra-*

couple are the source of all creation, that too is derived from this same textual milieu. For in a discussion of the symbolism of the worship of the feet of the deity as the primal Guru Maheśvarānanda quotes a verse without attribution which says that one foot is white and the other red, representing semen and menstrual blood, the two ingredients of conception in Indian theory, and that this whole universe is born from its two parents through these.⁶¹¹ Similarly, Śivānanda quotes a verse which venerates the footstool on which the [two] feet of Śiva-and-Śakti rest, identifying it with consciousness itself and describing it as haloed by the radiance of the infinite worlds that it spontaneously creates.⁶¹²

In its second introductory verse the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* maintains this Śākta Śaiva context by venerating the goddess Sarasvatī (Śārādā) as the presiding deity of [all] names and forms, that is to say, all words and the entities they denote (*nāmarūpādhidevatām*), describing her as the blissful relish of all that emerges from that union (*tadullāśarasākārām*) and as causing the unfolding of the levels of reality (*tattva*-), just as moonlight opens the petals of a night-blooming lotus.⁶¹³ Similarly, in its opening verses the *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* venerates the power in the form of creative verbalization or ideation (*parāmarśarūpiṇī*), absolute by virtue of its fusion with Śiva (*tadaikarasyāt*), describing it as that which though one assumes plurality and extension through the radiance (*-ullāsa*-) of its autonomy.⁶¹⁴ And in the opening verses of the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā* we find the creative ideation that is the supreme power of the Guru of the universe being

nirviśeṣabindulakṣaṇaḥ paramānandānubhava eva paramo guruḥ. sa punar nirviśeṣabindvātmā svecchāvaśāt prakāśavimarśaśaktiśivātmanātmānam vibhajyodyānapīṭhe kṛte yuge kāmēśvarakāmeśvarisaṅjñāyā sthitaś catyānātharūpī ...paramaśivaḥ svābhedenā sthītāyāi svaśaktiyai kāmēśvāyāi prathamam upadideśa. The same information is conveyed in Śivānanda, *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-rjuvimarśinī*, pp. 218, l. 9–219, l. 2; and Amṛtānandayogin, *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.1–5. Three other such couples are worshipped in the three corners of the central triangle. The distinctive term *mithunam* for these couples is used by Amṛtānandayogin himself in *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 5.7b: *tayor mithunam*. As for Vidyānandanātha, he may have been a near contemporary of Śivānanda, since his account of his lineage ends with Vāsudeva, disciple of Ratnadeva (*Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-artharatnāvalī*, p. 223, ll. 20–21) and Śivānanda adds himself as Vāsudeva's disciple (*Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-rjuvimarśinī*, p. 224, ll. 1–3.).

⁶¹¹ *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla*, p. 4, ll. 23–24: *yad āhuḥ: “śuklo ’ṅghriḥ śuklam āviṣṭo raktam rakto ’ṅghriḥ āśritaḥ | pitror aṅghridvayenedam amunā jāyate ’kḥilam” iti.*

⁶¹² Śivānanda, *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava-rjuvimarśinī*, pp. 10, l. 5–11, l. 2: *abhiyuktovaco ’pi: “svecchāvibhāvitānantajagadrasmivitānavat | naumi samvinmahāpīṭham śivaśaktipadāśrayam” iti.*

⁶¹³ *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* 1.2: **tadullāśarasākārām (tadullāsa em. Ed.: samullāsa Cod.) tattvakairavakaumudīm | namāmi śārādām devīm nāmarūpādhidevatām.*

⁶¹⁴ *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 1.4: *seyam tadaikarasyāt parā parāmarśarūpiṇī śaktiḥ | svasvātantryol-lāsaṣpandād ekāpy anekadhā vitatā.*

venerated as that which though one shines forth in the form of the multiplicity of names and the named (*nānānāmārtharūpiṇī*).⁶¹⁵ The expression *nāmārtha-* ('names and the named') in *nānānāmārtharūpiṇī* is evidently synonymous with the *nāmarūpa* ('names and forms') of the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*'s formulation, as can be seen from the use of the expression *nānānāmarūpa-* in a parallel context in the *Yoginīhr̥dayadīpikā*.⁶¹⁶ What is more, when the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*'s verse describes Sarasvatī as *tadullāśarasākārām*, literally 'having the form of the blissful relish of the radiance of that [union]' it echoes the *Saubhāgyahr̥dayastotra* of Śivānanda, which describes 'the transcendental speech-essence' (*parā vāk*), Sarasvatī under another name, as an embodiment of ultimate experience 'having the form of the blissful relish of diversity' as it descends through its lower levels to articulate utterance.⁶¹⁷

Now the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* can be dated with a high degree of probability. For its author tells us that he wrote at the request of Manva/Manma/Manna—all three forms are found in the manuscripts—, son of Bhaktirāja, during the latter's rule, and we know of only one Bhaktirāja, a king of the Eṭṭuva branch of the Telugu Choḍa family from whom we have a copperplate inscription dated in A.D. 1355/6. Another, issued by his son, Annadeva, is dated in A.D. 1388. The *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*, therefore, will have been composed c. 1350.⁶¹⁸ So if, as is probable, the same author was the Śākta disciple of Puṇyānanda, Maheśvarānanda will have been active around 1300. The same

⁶¹⁵ Amṛtānandayogin, *Yoginīhr̥dayadīpikā*, opening verse 3: *vimarśarūpiṇī śaktir asya viśvagu-roḥ parā | parisphurati saikāpi nānānāmārtharūpiṇī*.

⁶¹⁶ *Yoginīhr̥dayadīpikā*, p. 90, ll. 1–2: *param tejaḥ śivaśaktisāmarasyarūpaparāmayam jyotir icchārūpam svecchāghṛtānānāmarūpaprapaṇcamayam* 'The radiance that embodies the highest [power] that is the fusion of Śiva and Śakti (*param tejaḥ*), one with the multiplicity of the many names and forms that it has adopted by virtue of its autonomous will (*icchārūpam*) ...'; *ibid.*, ll. 6–7: *svecchākalpitanānāmarūpaprapaṇcamayam śricakrarūpeṇa parīṇatam parāmayam tejaḥ* 'The radiance that is the highest [power], which is one with the multiplicity of the many names and forms that it has created by virtue of its autonomous will, [that it to say,] which has evolved into the form of the Śricakra ...'.

⁶¹⁷ Śivānanda, *Saubhāgyahr̥dayastotra*, v. 3: *smarāmi tām parām vācam paśyantyādikramāśrayām | *nānāvidharasākāramahānubhavarūpiṇīm* (*ākāra* var. : *ākārām* Ed.). I have rejected the reading preferred by the editor for that which he reports from two manuscripts. The reading *-rasākāra-* is also seen in a Kashmirian manuscript of the hymn (*Tripurasundarīstotra*), which has *nānāvidharasākāraparānubhavarūpiṇīm* here.

⁶¹⁸ For this epigraphical evidence see KRISHNAMACHARYA and SARMA 1949, pp. xl–xlii. They note the difficulty raised by the discrepancy between the names Manna/Manma/Manva (all these forms are found in the manuscripts) and Anna[deva], but accepting that they may refer to one and the same person.

approximate date results if we apply the crude calculation of twenty-five years for a generation to Śivānanda's account of his preceptorial lineage and accept that the Bhojadeva whom he reports as a contemporary of his spiritual forebear Dīpakācārya⁶¹⁹ was, as is very likely, the famous Bhojadeva of Dhārā who ruled c. 1018–1060. By this calculation Śivānanda will have been active around 1225–1275,⁶²⁰ and Maheśvarānanda, as the pupil of Śivānanda's pupil Mahāprakāśa, will have been active c. 1275–1325.⁶²¹ If so, the *Cidgaganacandrikā*, since it draws on Arṇasimha's *Mahānayaprakāśa* and is quoted by Maheśvarānanda, must have been composed between about 1100 and 1300.

Śitikaṇṭha, the author of the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* wrote after the disciples of Cakrabhānu, who was active c. 950–1000. How soon after this

⁶¹⁹ *Nityāśoḍaśikārṇava-rjuvimarśinī*, p. 223, l. 3: *asmadgotramahattaraḥ prasiddha*bahvapa-dāno* (em. : *bahvāpādāno* Ed.) *bhojadevadṛṣṭacamatkāro mahādeśikapravaraḥ śrīmān dīpakācāryo daṇḍakakartā* 'The venerable Dīpakācārya, author of the [*Tripurasundarī*]/*daṇḍaka*[*stotra*], the foremost of my lineage, the best of great Gurus, whose many noble deeds are famous, whose miracles were witnessed by Bhojadeva'. The emendation is supported by Amṛtānandayogin's *Saubhāgyasudhodaya*, 6.16cd: *nānāpadānamahito dīpakanāthaḥ svasamtater dīpaḥ* 'Dīpakanātha, the lamp of his lineage, lauded for his many noble deeds'.

⁶²⁰ The lineage, as given by Śivānanda in *Nityāśoḍaśikārṇava-rjuvimarśinī* (pp. 223–234), with approximate dates based on this synchronicity with Paramāra Bhojadeva, is as follows: Dīpakācārya (1025–1075), his son Jīṣṇudeva (1050–1100), Mātṛgupta (1075–1125), Tejo-deva (1100–1150), Manojadeva (1125–1175), Kalyāṇadeva (1150–1200), Ratnadeva (1175–1225), Vāsudevamahāmuni (1200–1250), and Śivānanda (1225–1275). The same lineage, up to Kalyāṇadeva, is given by Amṛtānandayogin (*Saubhāgyasudhodaya* 6.16c–22). Here it divides, Amṛtānandayogin's line reaching him not through Ratnadeva but through Paramānanda, another of Kalyāṇadeva's disciples.

⁶²¹ Madhusudan KAUL SHASTRI claims in the introduction to his edition of the *Vāmakeśvarī-matavivarāṇa* that its author, Jayaratha, acknowledges Amṛtānandayogin at its beginning. If that were true, the date of the latter would have to be taken further back. But it is not. Jayaratha, in that edition, acknowledging in the second of his opening verses the Ācāryas of the past from whom he has learned (*pūrve ... guravo mama*), identifies them as *śrīdīpakācārya-pramukhāḥ*, which KAUL has evidently understood to mean 'those of whom the first is the Ācārya of the *Dīpikā*' and that *Dīpikā* as the *Yoginīhrdayadīpikā* of Amṛtānandayogin. But to refer to a Guru as the Ācārya of a text is unparalleled to my knowledge. The published reading is clearly an error for *dīpakācāryapramukhāḥ* 'those of whom the first was Dīpakācārya', as can be seen by comparing this with the verse quoted in p. 115, ll. 20–25, which speaks of numberless commentators on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, beginning with Dīpakanātha (*ā śrīdīpakanāthato hy agañitair adyāpi vṛttiḥ kṛtā*). The first commentator is evidently the Dīpakācārya, author of the *Tripurasundarīdaṇḍaka*, mentioned in Śivānanda's commentary (*-rjuvimarśinī*, p. 223), as the last of the line of Siddhas of this tradition, followed by Jīṣṇudeva, the author of the *Samketapaddhati* and the first of its 'lineage of men'. The source of the error is the Kashmirian pronunciation of Sanskrit, which tends to render *a* as *ē/i*, as in *khēmā/khimā* for Skt. *kṣamā*.

date he wrote cannot be determined from the evidence presently available, but, as has been argued above, the archaic character of the Kashmiri of the text suggests a date well before the fourteenth century, since the Kashmiri of Lāl Dēd's poems, composed in that period, shows a much later stage of the language, one barely distinguishable from the modern vernacular.⁶²² The same argument applies to the Old Kashmiri Chummās and Kathās.

Concerning the date of the *Chummāsamketaprakāśa* of Niṣkriyānandanātha we can say at present only that it is earlier than its citation by Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya I in the eighteenth century.⁶²³ Equally open are the dates of the *Vātulanāthasūtra* and its commentator Anantaśakti, the Śitikaṇṭha who compiled the *Kaulasūtras* and *Kulasūtras*, and the author of the *Jñānakriyādvayaśataka*, probably Sillana. Concerning Ramyadeva we can say only that he was later than Kṣemarāja (*fl. c.* 1000–1050)⁶²⁴ and concerning Cakrapāṇinātha that he lived before him. As we have seen, the Śrīvatsa who wrote a commentary on the *Bhuvanamālinīkalpa* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, cannot be earlier than Utpaladeva (*fl. c.* 925–975) and is likely to have lived several generations later.⁶²⁵ Concerning Viśvāvarta, the author of the *Tantrarājatantrāvatārastotra* I can say only that he was active at some time after Kallaṭa in the second half of the ninth century⁶²⁶ and before A.D. 1583, the date of the earliest manuscript of his work known to me.⁶²⁷

Īśvaraśivācārya, Śaṅkararāśi, and Viśvāvarta, who, according to Jayaratha, introduced the Śākta cult of Tripurasundarī in Kashmir appear, as we have seen, to have been active at some time after *c.* 1050 and before *c.* 1125.⁶²⁸

The dated works of Abhinavagupta also enable us to settle the dates of the Kashmirian Saiddhāntikas within relatively narrow limits. For in his *Tantrāloka* (8.428–434b), composed at some time after the *Kramastotra* and before the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivismarśinī* Abhinavagupta (*fl. c.* 975–1025) has quoted without attribution the summary-verses at the end of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha II's commentary on the 23rd chapter of the *Vidyāpāda* of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, while the latter's father Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha has quoted verse 55 of the

⁶²²See pp. 304 to 307.

⁶²³See p. 352.

⁶²⁴See p. 329.

⁶²⁵See footnote 74 on p. 257.

⁶²⁶See pp. 260 and 420.

⁶²⁷*Jayadrathayāmalapratāramantrasaṅgraha* B, f. 64r7: *saṃ 704 mārṅa śukla 6 ravau.*

⁶²⁸See p. 386.

Īśvarasiddhi of Utpaladeva (fl. c. 925–975), the teacher of Abhinavagupta's teacher Lakṣmaṇagupta, in his commentary on *Mṛgendra*, *Vidyāpāda* 1.11. Both father and son, then, will have been active during the second half of the tenth century. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha II's disciple Bhaṭṭa Vidyākaṇṭha II will have been approximately contemporary with Abhinavagupta.

As for the date of Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa, the author of the *Spandakārikā* and *Spandavṛtti*, and hence that of the *Śivasūtra* said to have been revealed to his Guru Vasugupta, the only hard evidence in the Kashmirian Śaiva literature is that Utpaladeva cites Pradyumnabhaṭṭa,⁶²⁹ whom Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara reports to have been the immediate successor of Kallaṭa in the lineage that led to himself.⁶³⁰ So there was at least one preceptorial generation between Utpaladeva (fl. c. 925–975) and Kallaṭa, which places the latter's active life no later than c. 875–925, or no later than c. 850–900 if Utpaladeva is correct in saying that Pradyumnabhaṭṭa was known to his teacher Somānanda (c. 900–950).⁶³¹ That Kallaṭa was not active earlier than the middle of the ninth century follows if we accept that this is the Bhaṭṭaśrī Kallaṭa mentioned by Kalhaṇa in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* as one of a number of Siddhas who descended to earth for the benefit of mankind during the reign of Avantivarman (r. 855/6–883).⁶³² He will, then, have been an approximate contemporary of Jñānānetranātha.

Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, the author of the *Śivasūtravārtika*, gives the following lineage of the transmission of the *Śivasūtra*: Vasugupta → Kallaṭa → Pradyumnabhaṭṭa → Prajñārjuna → Mahādevabhaṭṭa → Śrīkaṇṭhabhaṭṭa → himself. If we take Kallaṭa's active life as c. 850–900 then by the same crude calculation Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara will have been a contemporary of Abhinavagupta, flourishing c. 975–1025.

Evidence of the date of Rājānaka Jayaratha, the author of the commentaries on the *Tantrāloka* and *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, is found in the autobiographical verses at the end of the former. There he tells us that his father Śṛṅgārāratha was made

⁶²⁹In the *Śivadr̥ṣṭivṛtti*, p. 94, ll. 5–7, Utpaladeva cites a verse from a hymn to the Goddess which Rājānaka Rāma identifies (*Spandavivṛti*, p. 129, l. 1–7) as from the *Tattvagarbhaṣṭotra*. Utpaladeva tells us in the same work, p. 16, ll. 10–11, that the *Tattvagarbha* is the work of Pradyumnabhaṭṭa.

⁶³⁰*Śivasūtravārtika* 1.4–9b.

⁶³¹*Śivadr̥ṣṭivṛtti*, p. 16, ll. 10–11, on 1.16ab (*kiṃciducchūnatā saiva mahadbhiḥ kaiścid ucyate*): *saiva kiṃciducchūnatā kathyate bhaṭṭapadyumnena tattvagarbhe*.

⁶³²*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 5.66: *anugrahāya lokānāṃ bhaṭṭaśrīkallaṭādayaḥ | avantivarmanāḥ kāle sidhā bhuvam avātaran*.

a minister by King Rājārāja.⁶³³ No Kashmirian king appears with precisely this name in the historical literature of Kashmir. But it is evident that Jayaratha means Rājadeva, who according to that literature ruled Kashmir for 23 years from [Laukika] 4289, that is to say, from A.D. 1213 to 1236,⁶³⁴ the name Rājārāja being readily understood as synonymous.⁶³⁵

The author of the work on the Krama lineages to which I have given the name **Kramavaṃśāvalī* was a contemporary of Jayaratha, since the latter refers to him as such.⁶³⁶

⁶³³ *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 12, p. 432, concluding v. 28: *tayā sa śṛṅgārārathābhidhāno bālo vivṛddhiṃ gamito jananyā | sattvākhyayā khyātaguṇaḥ krameṇa śrīrājārājaḥ sacivam vyadbhād yam* ‘This [son], Śṛṅgārāratha by name, of famous virtue, whom Rājārāja in due course appointed as a minister, was brought up as a child by that mother Sattvā’. At the end of his commentary (*-vimarśinī*) on Ruyyaka’s *Alaṃkārasarvasva* (p. 753, ll. 10–15) he reports that his father Śṛṅgārāratha was the principal minister (*mantriṇām agraṇīḥ*) of Rājārāja.

⁶³⁴ Jonarāja, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vv. 75 and 87.

⁶³⁵ However, according to RASTOGI (1979: 210), following the suggestion of K. C. PANDEY (1963, p. 262), this king is not Rājadeva but Jayasimha, who ruled Kashmir from 1128 to 1155 (Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 8.3404 and Jonarāja, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, v. 38). He rejects identification with Rājadeva with the argument (*op. cit.*, p. 211, footnote 5) that it is difficult to believe that this king would have patronized Jayaratha since “on the testimony of Jonarāja (Rāj. Verse 74–87) he was just a usurper and had neither talents nor energy for asserting his authority”. This argument would be without force even if it were the case that Jayaratha claimed Rājadeva’s patronage since there is no reason why a weak ruler should not have shown favour to the son of one of his ministers. But in fact there is no evidence of any such claim. For RASTOGI’s assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 212) that Jayaratha reports in the *Tantrāloka*viveka (vol. 12, p. 430, v. 30) that the king inspired him to write this commentary is false. The passage actually states that it was his father that inspired him. It is only of incidental interest, then, to observe that Rājadeva was not an usurper. In fact RASTOGI’s characterization of Rājadeva is not Jonarāja’s but conflates into a single statement two passages in the English introduction of Srikanth KAUL to his excellent critical edition of that author’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (KAUL 1967, p. 56). In the first, from which RASTOGI has derived the claim that Rājadeva was an usurper, the editor is in fact referring not to him but to the Dāmara Padma, the murderer of his father. The dating proposed by RASTOGI is unbelievable on other grounds. If RASTOGI were right, then Jayaratha’s father would have been serving as a minister not more than forty-nine years and perhaps as few as twenty-seven after a brother of his paternal great-grandfather had done the same. For Jayaratha tells us (*Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 12, p. 431, ll. 9–16) that Śivaratha, a brother of his great-great-grandfather, had served as a minister under King Uccala, who ruled Kashmir from A.D. 1101 to 1111.

⁶³⁶ *Tantrāloka*viveka, vol. 3, p. 193, l. 8, introducing a citation from this work: *ataś cāśya gurukramam ajānānair adyatanaiḥ [citation] ityādi yad uktam tat svotprekṣitam evety upekṣyam* ‘And so what a contemporary has said without knowing Abhinavagupta’s preceptorial lineage, namely “[citation]” should be rejected as his own imagining’. I have assumed that the various verses on the Krama’s lineages cited by Jayaratha in his commentary on *Tantrāloka* 4.173ab

Manodadatta's *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, his detailed guide to the conduct of Śaiva initiation following the *Svacchanda*, was completed in A.D. 1335/6.⁶³⁷ But it is not clear how much of the text that has come down to us belongs to the original composition, since that text reports that it has been expanded by a certain Śivasvāmin. Nor do we know how long after Manodadatta later he was active. His expanded text contains a hymn that was composed by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in the seventeenth century, but, as we have seen, the section in which that hymn is found may well be a later addition.⁶³⁸ There is nothing that enables us to identify him with one of the two or more Śivasvāmins of the Upādhyāya lineage mentioned here.

For Rājānaka Takṣakavarta, the compiler of the digest *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, we have a prior limit in the date of the latest of his dateable sources. This is the Saiddhāntika Paddhati of Somaśambhu, the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*.⁶³⁹ The date of the composition of that work appears in its final verses. Though the manuscripts diverge at this point, all readings known to me place it in the last quarter of the eleventh century.⁶⁴⁰ Since I have encountered no reference

are all from a single work, since all are in the Āryā metre and have been cited as evidence of the unreliability of their information. These verses have been cited in vol. 3, p. 193, ll. 13–16; p. 194, ll. 3–4; p. 195, ll. 5–8, ll. 12–15, and ll. 18–19; and p. 196, ll. 11–12. A verse on the scriptural affiliation of certain Krama lineages cited outside this context, in vol. 3, p. 191, ll. 3–4, is probably from the same.

⁶³⁷ See footnote 514 on p. 389.

⁶³⁸ See p. 399.

⁶³⁹ *Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati* f. 28v3: *nirmālyalakṣaṇam ṣoḍhā proktaṃ śrīsomaśambhunā*; see BRUNNER 1963–1998, pt. 2, p. 271, v. 61.

⁶⁴⁰ In the colophonic verses in the edition of the text published in the KSTS from Kashmirian manuscripts it is said to have been completed in year 1130 of the Vikrama era (*vikramārkanṛpakālasamudbhavesu śūnyāgnibhiḥ samadbhikṣu ca tacchateṣu | ekādaśasv amalāśāstram idaṃ samastaṃ* [v. 1813]), that is to say, in A.D. 1073/4, if we assume that the years are counted as expired rather than current, as is usual with dates given in this era. But in the Devakoṭṭai edition, prepared from Grantha manuscripts, and reproduced in the edition of Brunner (1963–1998, pt. 4, p. 419) the same verse gives the year as Vikrama 1153 (*vikramārkanṛpakālasamudbhavesu pañcāsatā trisabhiteṣu śaracchateṣu | ekādaśasv amalāśāstram idaṃ samāptaṃ*), which is A.D. 1096/7. An East Indian palm-leaf manuscript of the text prepared in the seventh year of the reign of the Pāla king Madanapāla [MS A, f. 120v2–4: **paramēśvaraparama*(em. : *pareśvarapara* Cod.) *bhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśrīmanmadanapāladevasya pravardhamāne vijayarājye saptame samvatsare [...] bhagavatpādapaṇḍitaśaivācāryakumāragaṇena likhāpito 'yaṃ śaivāgamaḥ somaśambhukṛtaḥ*], that is to say, in A.D. 1149 in the chronology of D.C. Sircar (1976), doubtless conceals the same reading beneath its errors: *vikramārkanṛpakālasamudbhavesu pañcābhata trīṣuśateṣu śaracchateṣu | ekādaśaśca mama śāstram idaṃ samāptaṃ* (f. 121r3). An early

to Takṣakavarta in any other work, I can propose as his posterior limit only the year 1875–76, in which the undated manuscript of his digest was purchased by Georg BÜHLER in Kashmir. However, the great abundance of the scriptural sources and Paddhatis on which Takṣakavarta has drawn⁶⁴¹ suggests that he was active not far from the beginning of this period from the twelfth to nineteenth centuries. Concerning the authors of the lost Kashmirian Paddhatis that are known from citations, we can say of Viśvāvarta's that it pre-dates Takṣakavarta,⁶⁴² and of Dharmaśiva's and Īśānaśivācārya's that they pre-date Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975–1025).⁶⁴³ The dates of the *Svacchanda*-based Paddhatis cited in the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* can be dated only within very wide limits. But, as we have seen, the *Gurupustaka* and *Dīkṣākālpalatā* are probably works of the fourteenth century.⁶⁴⁴

Among the later Kashmirian authors mentioned here Sāhib Kaul was born in 1629⁶⁴⁵ and completed his *Devīnāmaṇḍalā* in 1666.⁶⁴⁶ Bhaṭṭāraka Ānanda, author of a commentary on the *Vijñānabhairava* (*Vijñānakaumudī*) and, perhaps, on the *Spandakārikā* (*Spandapradīpikā*), can be placed in the second half

undated Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript of the text (MS B) lacks this verse, ending after the preceding verse with the prose *śrīmatkārṇaprakāśavyavaharaṇāya sasamasamvatsare kriyākāṇḍakramāvalīpustakam paṇḍitācāryaśrīsomāśivena vira(cī)taṃ samāptam iti* (f. 74r4–5). The reading *sasama* is meaningless. If this is an error for *daśama*, the meaning will be 'Here ends the text of the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* composed by Somaśiva for the use of the excellent Kārṇaprakāśa in the tenth year'. The work was composed while Somaśambhu was abbot of the Golakīsthāna in the domain of the Kalacuri kings of Tripurī in Central India, whom we know to have appointed Saiddhāntikas of this richly endowed monastic institution as their Rājagurus. The year is surely regnal and I propose that the name Kārṇaprakāśa is a periphrasis for Yaśaḥkārṇa, the Kalacuri king who ruled from Tripurī from A.D. 1073 to 1123, radiance/whiteness (*prakāśaḥ*) being the defining characteristic of fame/success (*yaśaḥ*) in Indian poetic convention (see, e.g. *Haravijaya* 13.3: *yaśaḥprakāśam*; 16.54: *śaśīsubhayaśaḥprakāśa*–; Cambodian inscription K. 286, v. 16bc (CEDÈS 1952, p. 90): *kṣitīndrāḥ jātā jagatrayavikīrṇayaśaḥprakāśāḥ*). If this is correct we have a third date of composition, 1082. But *daśama* is not the only possibility. If *sasama* is a corruption of *prathama* the year will be A.D. 1073 and so agree with the version of the Kashmirian manuscripts. The fact that two different dates are given in an otherwise identical verse indicates not corruption but conscious revision. Perhaps the text circulated in two editions, an earlier and a later.

⁶⁴¹See footnote 517 on p. 389.

⁶⁴²See p. 389.

⁶⁴³See pp. 392 and 393.

⁶⁴⁴See p. 398.

⁶⁴⁵Madhusudan KAUL's introduction to the KSTS edition of the *Devīnāmaṇḍalā*, p. 2.

⁶⁴⁶*Devīnāmaṇḍalā*, p. 320, v. 18.

of the seventeenth century, since the former reports that it was completed in [Kali] 4774 (= A.D. 1672).⁶⁴⁷

Rājānaka Bhāskarakāṇṭha has been held to have been active during the eighteenth century. But the only evidence for this date is the reported claim of his descendants *c.* 1960 that he lived six generations before them.⁶⁴⁸ He himself tells us at the end of his *Cittānubodhaśāstra* that he had been educated by Ratnakāṇṭha, evidently a member of the same patrilineage (the Rājānakas of the Kāṇṭha-Dhaumyāyana Gotra) who had been a pupil of his grandfather Vaiḍūryakāṇṭha.⁶⁴⁹ He gives no further information on this scholar, but it is not improbable that he is the author of that name and patrilineage⁶⁵⁰ who composed the *Śambhukṛpāmanoharastava* preserved in the *Kalādikṣāpaddhati*, the *Ratnaśataka* (a hymn to Sūrya), and commentaries on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya-mahākāvya* of Vāsudeva, on the *Stutikusumāñjali* of Jagaddhara, on the *Hara-vijayamahākāvya* of Ratnākara, and, in the field of poetics, on the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa and the *Devīstotra* of Yaśaskara, since Bhāskarakāṇṭha praises his teacher as “a master of all the branches of scholarship” (*samastavidyānīpuṇaḥ*) and the author of those works certainly merits that description. For in addition to these compositions we have a good number of manuscripts copied by him for his own use, often with his annotations, in the fields of poetics, lexicography, grammar, drama, Kāvya, Vedānta, and Sāṃkhya. If it was he that taught Bhāskarakāṇṭha, then the latter was active towards the end of the seventeenth century. For Ratnakāṇṭha's works and manuscripts bear dates that extend from 1648/9 to 1685/6.⁶⁵¹

Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya I composed his *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti* during the

⁶⁴⁷ See p. 411.

⁶⁴⁸ Reported by K. C. PANDEY (1963, pp. 264–265), who proposes the second half of the eighteenth century on its basis. See also HANNEDER and SLAJE 2002, pp. 18–19.

⁶⁴⁹ 15.298: *pitāmahasya sacchisyāt prāptavidyāt tathaiva ca | samastavidyānīpuṇād ratnakāṇṭhād dayānidheḥ*.

⁶⁵⁰ Both were Rājānakas of the [Kāṇṭha-]Dhaumyāyana Gotra. Bhāskarakāṇṭha, *Bhāskarī*, vol. 1, p. 2, opening verse 6: *yaḥ kaṇṭhadhaumyāyanatāprasiddhaviśuddharājānakavaṃśajātaḥ | sa bhāskarākhyo dvija eṣa ṭīkāṃ karoti śāstre 'bhīnavodite 'smin* ‘[I], this brahmin Bhāskara, born in the pure Rājānaka lineage famed for its being of the Kāṇṭha-Dhaumyāyana [Gotra]’. Rājānaka Ratnakāṇṭha reports his Gotra as Dhaumyāyana in the fourth opening verse of his *Stutikusumāñjalilaghupañcikā* (*dhaumyāyanakulodbhavaḥ*).

⁶⁵¹ For a list of these compositions and manuscripts in his hand and their dates see STEIN 1979, vol. 1, pp. 46–47. The Stein collection of manuscripts from Kashmir in the Bodleian library (Oxford) contains several of the latter not mentioned in that listing.

governorship of Sukhajivana (1753–62),⁶⁵² and Śiva[rāma]svāmin Upādhyāya II his *Śivarātrirahasya* during the reign of Raṇjit Singh (1819–1839).⁶⁵³ This Śivasvāmin also wrote the *Yajñopavītaśikhāmālānirṇaya*,⁶⁵⁴ and, though this

⁶⁵² *Vijñānabhairavavivṛti*, p. 144, ll. 1–12: *sukhajīvanābbhidhāne rakṣati kāśmīramāṇḍalam nṛpatau | agaman niḥśeṣatvaṃ vijñānodyotasamgrahaḥ sugamaḥ* '[This] simple *Vijñānodyota-samgraha* has been completed while King Sukhajivana is ruling the kingdom of Kashmir'. The term Upādhyāya here is not a mere description but denotes his membership of the Upādhyāya (Padey/Padi) kinship group (*jātiḥ*, Kashmiri *zāth*). He tells us this and his Gotra in the preceding verse (p. 143, ll. 7–18): *nāmnā śiveti guṇikausīkagotra-jātyopādhyāyaśabdayutayāpy upalakṣitena* 'with the name Śiva, qualified by the *jātiḥ* of the Guṇikausīka Gotra called Upādhyāya' (pace RASTOGI, who read this impossibly [1979, p. 226] as giving his name as Śivaguṇi and his Gotra as Kauśika). The *zāth* is indeed of the Guṇikausīka Gotra; see KOUL 1924, p. 106, listing it as Padi of the 'Svamina Gan Kaushika' Gotra and the Census of 1891 (BHAG RAM 1893, p. 137), less accurately, as Padey of the 'Sāman Gan Bhúshak' Gotra.

⁶⁵³ See the final colophon of the Jammu manuscript of this text (STEIN 1894, No. 2668 ka): *kṛtir iyaṃ paṇḍitaśivarāmasya kāśmīrikopādhyāyavaṃśaprasūtasya yaḥ śrīmahārājaraṇajit-siṃhasya kāśmīrarājyārambhe jīvitavān* 'This is the work of Paṇḍita Śivarāma, born in the Kashmirian Upādhyāya lineage, who was alive at the beginning of the reign of Mahārāja Raṇjit Singh'. It is likely that he is the Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya/Śivarāma/Śivopādhyāya, grandfather of the Keśavarāma Upādhyāya in whose possession BÜHLER found the *codex archetypus* of the *Rājatarāṅginī* (STEIN, *Rājatarāṅginī* ed., p. xiii). According to the versified colophon at the end of the Calcutta edition of the *Rājatarāṅginīsamgraha* Moorcroft, who arrived in Kashmir in 1822 and remained until May 1823, during the reign of Raṇjit Singh, obtained the manuscript on loan from the house of this scholar as a result of the intercession of the Trikeśvara, the patriarch of the *trikajātīyāḥ*, the members of the Trika lineage (the Tikoo *zāth*; see GRIERSON 1932, s.v. *tyuk*): *śrīmurkarāphako mantri prāptakāśmīra*maṇḍalo* (corr. : *maṇḍale* Ed.) *rājye śrīraṇajitsiṃhabhūpateḥ priyadarśanaḥ | *śrīmattrikeśvarapremṇā* (śrīmattrikeśvara corr. STEIN : śrīmantrikeśvara Ed.) *prāptā rājatarāṅginī | murkarāphakadhīreṇa grhāc chrīśivasvāmināḥ | śrīmacchrīśivarāmasya grhe rājāvalī śubhā | kāśmīramāṇḍale nityaṃ vartate nānyasadmani | śrīmadvibudhendra*śivopādhyāyā* (corr. : *śivopādhyāya* Ed.) *namo namaḥ | tenopādhyāyena pañcasahasravarāṇaṃ mahāprabhāvasahitā rājāvalī svagrhe pālītā prayatnena śrīvibhor dayayā bhadram | vartate ca grhe yasya śubhā rājatarāṅginī | sa jīvanmukta eva *syād* (corr. : *syān* Ed.) *amṛtaḥ svargam āpnuyāt. samvat 1880.* 1880, the date of composition given in this colophon, equals A.D. 1822/3. STEIN notes (*ibid.*) that Śivarāma and his descendants to the present day have been attached as hereditary gurus to the Trika family, which he describes as having held for several generations past an influential position in Kashmir. He also notes that Paṇḍit Śivarāma was commonly called Śivopādhyāya.

⁶⁵⁴ This follows from the fact that in both works the author uses the pen-name Nityasvatanttra; see *Śivarātrirahasya*, f. 4r, colophon: *kṛtir nityasvatantretyaparanāmnāḥ śivasyeti śivam*; and *Yajñopavītaśikhāmālānirṇaya*, ff. 1v–2r (v. 2): *cin nityā yadi sarvakālaviṣayā kūṭastharūpā tadā | yāthātathyatayā sthitāpi yadi sā svānandasārdrā param | svasvātantryavaśāc cito vivaraṇaṃ ya-trāpi kutrāpi cet | sarvavyāpitayāstu niścitam idam nityasvatantreṇa tat.* In f. 2v5–6 of the latter he calls himself Śivopādhyāya: *yajñasūtraśikhāmālānirṇayadvārato 'py aham | cito vimarśanaṃ*

is only probable, the *Ṣaṭcakanirṇaya*, a work on meditation on the energy-centres in the body,⁶⁵⁵ not to be confused with the work of that name mentioned above as including and explaining some verses on this subject from the *Jayadrathayāmala*.⁶⁵⁶ He may also be the Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya who wrote the *Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa* and *Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa* alias *Anubhava-bodhavidyā*.⁶⁵⁷ Those works show their author to have been a worshipper of Tripurasundarī (*śrīvidyopāsakaḥ*) who, while following the Trika-based Śivādvaita, sought to reconcile the Śākta Śaiva and Vaidika elements of his community's religious practice by showing that the Śivādvaita is supported by the Upaniṣads and that both the Śākta Saubhāgyavidyā and the Vedic Gāyatrī share the same Śaiva meaning and reality.⁶⁵⁸ This reconciliation of the Vaidika and Śaiva is also the purpose of the *Yajñopavītasikhāmālānirṇayaḥ*, which heightens the probability that one author wrote all four works, since we know that the

kurve śivopādhyāyasamjñitaḥ. The same name is given in the final colophon (f. 19r1–2: *iti śrī-macchivopādhyāyaviracito yajñopavītasikhāmālānirṇayaḥ*).

⁶⁵⁵In the colophon of his *Ṣaṭcakanirṇaya* the author says that he wrote at the instigation of the son of Puruṣottama Osu (f. 386): *ity osupuruṣottamaputrasya nodanād akaro(d) dvijaḥ upādhyāyaśivasvāmī śubhaṃ ṣaṭcakanirṇayam*; and in the last verse of the *Śivarātrirahasya* the author records that he wrote for the pleasure of Puruṣottama: *nityasvatantrakavinā nirṇītā śivayāminī | ālodya sarvatantrāṇi puruṣottamatuṣṭaye*. Since the author is a Śaiva it is unlikely that he would have chosen this usually Vaiṣṇava name for the Deity unless it enabled him to convey an additional meaning obliquely: (for the pleasure of the Supreme Soul)/(for the pleasure of Puruṣottama).

⁶⁵⁶See p. 260.

⁶⁵⁷*Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa*, colophon: *paratattvāptyai racitā gāyatrīmantra uttame vyākhyā viduṣā śivena ramyā śaṃkaracodanavaśīkṛteneyam. samāpteyaṃ gāyatrīmantravivartih. kṛtiḥ śrī-śivasvāminah. upādhyāyakulotpannaśivarāmaprakāśitā | śrīvidyātuṣṭaye bhūyād gāyatrīvivartih parā | yady apīyaṃ mayā dṛbdhā svātmānandavivṛddhaye | anyo 'pi kaścīt tad api kṛtakṛtyo 'nayā bhavet | sāstrāntaraikarasikāiḥ kṣantavyaṃ vibudhaiḥ paraiḥ | svavinodaṃ viracayann anindyo yaj jano bhuvi; Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa, f. 46v11–15: *ṣaṣṭmadreṣ cārudūrāḍdrivipinamilitaśvetagaṅgāvagāhāt pūtasvāntena kāśmīrikavibudhaśivasvāmyupādhyāyanāmnā | vyākhyāto mantra-rājaḥ prakāṣavimalasatsampradāyaḥ parāyāḥ śrīvidyāyā gabhiro hariharadivase śīṣyabodhārtham eṣaḥ*. The manuscript breaks off after *śrī* in the last sentence. The rest of the last Pāda has been supplied from the transcript of these verses made by RASTOGI (1979, p. 227, footnote 1) from a manuscript belonging to Paṇḍit Dīnanāth Yach. That manuscript's colophon adds that the author was the son of one Prakāśopādhyāya (*ibid.*, footnote 2): *iti śrīvidyāvivaraṇam anubhava-bodhākhyam kṛtiḥ prakāśopādhyāyasvāmiputraśivopādhyāyasvāminah*. That both works are by the same author is certain. For in the *Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa* its author refers to the *Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa* as his own (f. 11v7–9): *etac ca yathā tathā matkṛte gāyatrīmantravivaraṇe dṛṣṭir vidheyety alam aprakṛtena*.*

⁶⁵⁸*Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa*, f. 26v9–10: *iti śrīvidyāgāyatrīor abhedārthaḥ*.

author of the *Ṣaṭcakraṇirṇaya* wrote the last.

The commentary of Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma (Lasa Kāk Rāzdān) on the *Parātrīśikā* does not give the date of its composition, but his commentary on the *Gītā* tells us that it was completed in 1811.⁶⁵⁹

A BRIEF HISTORY

I conclude by presenting an outline of my view of the historical trajectory of the various religious traditions covered in this study, their interaction, and their relative strength.

The earliest dateable evidence of Mantramārgic Śaivism in Kashmir is found in two hymns in high poetic style, one to Śiva and the other to the goddess Caṇḍī, that form two chapters of the Mahākāvya *Haravijaya* of Rājānaka Ratnākara. Ratnākara was a courtier of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa, who ruled Kashmir from c. 826–838, and his work was written c. 830. The first hymn, the *Śiva-stotra*, shows knowledge of the literature of the Siddhānta and though it does not name its sources it is possible to recognize within its high-flown poetic periphrases the wording of the *Matāṅga*, the *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*, and the early Saiddhāntika exegetes Sadyojyotis and Brhaspati.⁶⁶⁰ The second hymn reveals knowledge of the technicalities of the Trika and, perhaps, of the Trika's scripture *Trīśirobhairava*.⁶⁶¹ We may fairly conclude that the presence of these materials in a work of Kashmirian literary art indicates that these two traditions were well known by this time in the refined circle of the court, or at least that they were well enough established to be considered worthy of mention.

There is nothing in these hymns that reveals awareness of the cults of Svacchandabhairava, Amṛteśvarabhairava, or the Kālīkula.⁶⁶² In the case of the

⁶⁵⁹The closing verse: *lakṣmīrāma iti dvijo 'tra nivasan kaśmīrabhūmaṇḍale meror mātur upātta-dehajanano rājānagopālakāt | śrīśāke dviguṇādriparimite māse tathaivāśvine śuklāyāṃ pratipady ajāṅghrinirato gītāsu ṭikāṃ vyadhāt.*

⁶⁶⁰On the dates of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa's reign, Ratnākara's relations with him, and his Saiddhāntika scriptural sources see SANDERSON 2001, pp. 5–6, footnote 3. I have not yet published my evidence of his knowledge of Sadyojyotis and Brhaspati (for which see SANDERSON forthcoming *b*); but that concerning the former may be found in outline, with due acknowledgement, in WATSON 2006, pp. 111–14. There is no compelling reason to think that Sadyojyotis and Brhaspati were Kashmirians.

⁶⁶¹See SANDERSON 1986, p. 169, footnote 1, and 2001, pp. 18–19, footnote 21.

⁶⁶²My view that there is no reference to the Kālīkula is contradicted by RASTOGI (1979, p. 93),

two Bhairavas, this absence has no weight as evidence, since they may have been passed over in silence simply because they could not be accommodated comfortably in either hymn, falling as they do within a domain that lies between the Śaiva and the Śākta. But this will not explain the absence of the goddess of the Kālikula from the hymn to Caṇḍī. We may surmise, therefore, especially when we consider the comprehensive knowledge of the varieties of contemporary religion exhibited in these hymns, that the Kālikula and its Krama refinement had not yet come to the fore of the Kashmirian Śākta domain in the knowledge of the court, whereas the Trika was already well established there. And this hypothesis receives support from what we have been able to deduce of the chronology of the Krama, namely that Jñānanetra, whom the Kashmirian lineage of that system claims as its source, flourished somewhat later, from around the middle of the ninth century.

The second half of that century saw the composition of the *Śivasūtra* and *Spandakārikā* and, especially in the latter, the first attempt from the Śākta Śaiva domain to present a non-dualistic metaphysics and gnostic soteriology in opposition to the dualistic and ritualistic exegesis of the Saiddhāntika Śaiva scriptures. This movement was presented in its early phase as coming not from Śiva as the teaching of certain scriptures but rather as the contemporary irruption into the world of the gnosis of enlightened Siddhas and Yoginīs; and we have seen the same perspective in the propagation of the Krama, which unlike the

who claims that Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, the goddess of the Kālikula and Krama, appears in the hymn to Caṇḍī, in 47.55, in the abbreviated form Saṃkarṣaṇī: *prāptābhisamdhīparatām anuvrttilagnagaunaṣṭhitih sthitasitātīśayād abhikṣṇam | vidyeti sarvabahulākhiladrṣṭisaṃjñā saṃkarṣaṇī nigaditā kila śāsane tvam*. The abbreviation is not uncommon. However, the reading *saṃkarṣaṇī* of the edition (wrongly reported by RASTOGI as *saṃkarṣiṇī*) is a corruption. The editor records the variant *sāṃkarṣaṇī* and the Bodleian library's manuscript of the text reads *sāṃkarṣaṇe* (f. 145r24). The last is evidently to be preferred because it provides the adjective needed by the context to qualify the noun *śāsane* 'in the doctrine', which would otherwise remain unspecified. Moreover, the adjective is entirely appropriate. The preceding seven verses (47.48–54) have praised the Goddess manifest as various Mahāyāna-Buddhist principles, and the verse that follows (47.56) praises her as the principle that for the Ekāyana Vaiṣṇavas [of the Pañcarātra] is the sole cause of their liberation. Now Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha tells us that there were two kinds of followers of the Pañcarātra: the Sāṃkarṣaṇapāñcarātras (*Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa*, pp. 87–88) and the Saṃhitāpāñcarātras (*ibid.*, p. 91). The *sāṃkarṣaṇam śāsanam* of 47.55 is evidently the doctrine of the former and the Ekāyanas of 47.56 those who follow the latter (= *Ekāyanasaṃhitāpāñcarātras). The reading *sāṃkarṣaṇī* is derived from *sāṃkarṣaṇe* as a result of the common confusion by Kashmirian copyists of *e* and *i*, which are virtually indistinguishable in Kashmiri pronunciation.

Trika maintained this perspective after the initial revelation, as can be seen from the tradition concerning the *Kramastotra* of Eraka, the surviving works of Hrasvanātha, and the tradition of the revelation of the Chummās, the Old Kashmiri Kathās, and the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*. It is not without good reason, then, that the historian Kalhaṇa speaks of the reign of Avantivarman (c. 855/6–883) as one that was marked by the descent of Siddhas among men for the benefit of the world.⁶⁶³ That this development had a major impact on Kashmirian society is evident in the fact that Kalhaṇa records it. For he is generally silent about the recent history of religion in the valley beyond noting the religious affiliations of certain kings and the temples and other religious foundations that they established. Such figures as Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, Abhinavagupta, and Kṣemarāja, who loom so large in the learned literature of the Śaivas of Kashmir and beyond, receive not even a passing mention.

This pivotal period was followed in the tenth century by a remarkable efflorescence of learned exegesis and philosophical argument in all areas of the religion. On the Śākta Śaiva side we have the development within the Trika of the philosophical tradition of the Pratyabhijñā; and the last quarter of the century and the first of the eleventh saw with Abhinavagupta the production of Krama-influenced, Pratyabhijñā-based exegesis of scripture in the Trika itself and with his successor Kṣemarāja the extension of this exegesis to the Tantras of the cults of the two Bhairavas and beyond that domain to the interpretation of texts both esoteric and devotional that unlike those Tantras were open to a much wider audience than that of initiated specialists. The inclusivist aspirations of this tradition are also expressed in the formulation of the view that the Vidyāpīṭha-based system of the Trika does not merely transcend the Siddhānta and the Bhairava systems but also includes them within a higher synthesis that validates practice on all these levels.

This was also the golden age of Kashmirian Saiddhāntika exegesis, which now developed a rigorously dualistic and ritualistic interpretation of the Siddhānta's scriptures, with an exclusivist perspective that seems designed to bar the gates, as it were, against the intuitionist and charismatic influences that had come to the fore since the middle of the ninth century. Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha presents his exegesis in a fundamentalist spirit as a return to the original position set out in an earlier time by the founding fathers of his tradition with the purpose of rescuing it from the contamination it had suffered from attempts to

⁶⁶³See footnote 632 on p. 420.

assimilate its scriptures to alien perspectives, at one extreme to that of orthodox Brahmanism and at the other to that of the Śākta Śaivas.

Concern to counter contamination is also seen in the Śākta Śaiva camp at this time. For Kṣemarāja makes it clear that the principal purpose of his commentaries on the *Svacchanda* and *Netra* was to reverse inroads from the Saiddhāntika perspective into the interpretation of these Tantras and the enactment of their prescriptions. Nor does it seem that his concern was primarily with theological theory. He consistently imposed the non-dualistic ontology of the Pratyabhijñā on these texts, as Abhinavagupta had done on the Trika's *Mālinīvijayottara*, but we sense greater urgency when he addresses what he saw as unwarranted diluting of the non-dualistic practice (*advaitācārah*) of the *Svacchanda*, practice, that is, which transcends brahmanical values of purity, presenting these departures from prescribed observance as the baleful effect of the dominance of the Siddhānta in the Śaivism of his community. Indeed he sees the rise of non-dualism in Kashmir from its beginnings in the ninth century as a mission directed against this dominance, saying in the introduction to his commentary on the *Śivasūtra* that Śiva appeared to Vasugupta in a dream to direct him to the discovery of this text out of his concern that the esoteric tradition, evidently that of the Śākta Śaivas, was on the verge of extinction in a society that was then almost completely under the sway of dualism.⁶⁶⁴ He does not state explicitly that the dualism to which he refers is that of the Siddhānta, but that it was is the most natural interpretation of his words, especially in the light of the fact that he interprets the first Sūtra as a refutation of the Saiddhāntika doctrine that God, other souls, and the material universe are irreducibly distinct.

From Kṣemarāja's statement of his purpose in writing his commentaries on the Tantras of the two Bhairavas we can infer that the forms of Śaivism that they authorize had been established in the valley for a considerable period of time, though how long they had been present and whether or not they predate the advent of the Siddhānta itself in the region cannot be determined from the available evidence. We can at least say that the *Netra* was composed in Kashmir at some time between about 700 and 850, probably towards the end of this period, that the *Svacchanda* was used by the redactor of that text, and that its practice, therefore, was probably already current in Kashmir at that time.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶⁴ *Śivasūtravimarsinī*, p. 2, ll. 7–12. For this passage and my translation see footnote 574 on p. 406.

⁶⁶⁵ For the date and provenance of the *Netra* see SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 273–294. I see no

The two facts that Kṣemarāja extended Śākta Śaiva exegesis into this domain and that when he did so it had long been under the influence of the more conventional, Veda-congruent Siddhānta suggest that the cults of Svachchanda-bhairava and Amṛteśvarabhairava were far from being fringe phenomena in the Kashmir of his time. Moreover, the detailed ritual manuals that have come down to us in Kashmir for the ceremonies of Śaiva initiation, the fire-sacrifice, and the various post-mortuary rituals are all centred on these two deities. It is tempting to conclude, therefore, that it was this form of Śaivism, that of the middle ground between the Siddhānta and the Śākta Śaiva systems, that was the mainstream tradition in Kashmir throughout the period accessible to us, and that the Siddhānta, like the Śākta Śaivism of the Trika and Krama, had little impact on the core practice of the majority but merely influenced it for some time on a theoretical level and provided a view of the proper relationship between Śaiva practice and brahmanical norms that encouraged or justified a drift away from the more challenging aspects of non-Saiddhāntika observance that would probably have occurred even without its influence, simply as the consequence of the routinization that we would expect in any tradition that achieved widespread acceptance within brahmanical society. It is possible, then, that when Kṣemarāja tells us that the Siddhānta was dominant in the Śaiva community of his time he is referring to its influence rather than reporting that those following the Saiddhāntika system of worship were in the majority.

However, the very manuals whose existence shows the dominance of the worship of the two Bhairavas in Kashmir in later times also contain evidence that must make us hesitate to conclude that this state of affairs goes back all the way to the golden age of Śaiva exegesis. For while the Tantras and their learned commentators present the varieties of Śaiva practice entirely within the boundaries of this or that system these manuals exhibit eclecticism within their *Svacchanda*- and *Netra*-based matrix, and since they record the actual practice of the local Śaiva officiants we may read this incorporation of elements from other ritual systems as evidence that these were influential in the valley. Now, the Siddhānta figures very strongly in this respect. Thus, for example, in the Śiva-vase (*śivakalaśaḥ*) set up and worshipped in the preliminaries of Śaiva cremation according to the *Śivanirvāṇapaddhati* the officiant worships (1) as the principal deities Bahurūpabhairava and his consort Māyādevī—the former, in spite of the non-Saiddhāntika ring of his name, is an iconographic variant of

reason to think that the *Svacchanda* too was Kashmirian.

the Kashmirian version of the Siddhānta's distinctive Śiva-form, the ten-armed, five-faced Sadāśiva—,⁶⁶⁶ (2) the ancillary door-deities, (3) Amṛteśabhairava and Amṛtalakṣmī, (4) the eight Bhairavas that are the first outer circuit of the retinue of Svachchandabhairava, (5) the seven deity-circuits, to which I shall return, (6) another Mantra-form of Amṛteśabhairava (Mrtyuñjaya), (7) the six-syllable Śiva-Mantra (OM NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA) of lay Śaiva worship, (8) the Mantras of Śiva's eight Mūrtis, (9) Durgā and the Dīnmātr̥s, (10) the five Causes from Brahmā to Sadāśiva as the Lords of the five Segments (*kalādhīpatayah*), (11) the six cosmic hierarchies (*ṣaḍ adhvānaḥ*), (12) the Vyomavyāpimantra, said here to have the effect of eliminating all sins, and (13) the five Brahmamantras, followed by the Pañcarātra's Lakṣmīvāsudeva and a series of local goddesses (Śārikā, Śāradā, Rājñī, Vitastā, Gaṅgā, Jvālāmukhī, and Bhuvaneśvarī).⁶⁶⁷ Of these the Vyomavyāpimantra and the five Brahmamantras are Saiddhāntika. As for the seven deity-circuits, a standard feature in all the Kashmirian Paddhatis, these are (1) the eight Vidyēśvaras (Ananta to Śikhaṇḍin), (2) the eight Gaṇeśvaras (from Nandin to Caṇḍeśvara), (3) the eight (or ten) Lokapālas, the eight Mothers (Jayā, Subhagā, Vijayā, Durbhagā, Jayantī, Ūhinī, Aparājitā, and Karālī), the eight celestial Grahas (from Sūrya to Ketu), the eight Nāgas (from Ananta to Kulika), and the eight (or ten) weapons of the Lokapālas. This is a standard Saiddhāntika arrangement expanded by the addition of the Mothers of the Vāmatantras, the Grahas, and the Nāgas.⁶⁶⁸ Indeed, according to Rājānaka Takṣakavarta the scriptural authority for this arrangement is an otherwise unknown 9000-verse redaction of the Saiddhāntika *Niḥśvāsa* known as the *Nandīśvarāvatāra*.⁶⁶⁹

In later times the Siddhānta died out in Kashmir as an independent tradition. Some works of Saiddhāntika learning continued to be copied down to recent times but I have encountered no manuscript of any Kashmirian Paddhati that sets out the procedure and Mantras of Śaiva ritual on Saiddhāntika lines for practical use, nor do we see any trace of Saiddhāntika literary activity in the

⁶⁶⁶See SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 273–276.

⁶⁶⁷*Śivanirvāṇapaddhati*, pp. 218 [188c], l. 13–226 [190b], l. 3.

⁶⁶⁸Thus in Saiddhāntika scriptural sources we see, for example, the Vidyēśvaras, Gaṇeśvaras, Lokapālas, and their Weapons prescribed for worship as the outer deity-circuits in the *Kiraṇa* (20.7–12b), and the Vidyēśvaras, Gaṇeśvaras, and Lokapālas in the *Mrgendra* (*Kriyāpāda* 3.20–26b).

⁶⁶⁹*Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati*, f. 35r3–4: *nandīśvarāvatāre niḥśvāse navasahasrasaṃkhyake saptaśvarāṇārcā(yā) yaḥ kramo* These deities form the outer retinue (*bahirāvaraṇam*) outside the inner retinue (*garbhāvaraṇam*) consisting of the principal Mantra's auxiliaries.

valley after Bhaṭṭa Vidyākāṇṭha (fl. c. 975–1025). This has further encouraged the tendency to minimize the importance of the Siddhānta in the overall picture of the Śaivism of the valley, even to negate it altogether as in the widespread use of the term Kashmir Śaivism in modern scholarship to refer to the Śākta Śaiva elements of Kashmirian Śaivism that had the good fortune to survive in some form down to Kashmir's encounter with the modern world. However, the demise of the Kashmirian Siddhānta cannot be explained simply by appealing to the picture of a Śaivism dominated by the cults of the Bhairavas, the Trika, and the Krama, since that dominance may be more an effect of the Siddhānta's demise than its cause; and the weight of the Saiddhāntika elements within the Paddhatis that outlived the Siddhānta should be sufficient to inhibit the facile conclusion that it had always been a marginal phenomenon in Kashmir. I consider it more probable that the primary cause of its disappearance here was the advent of Muslim rule in the fourteenth century and the consequent withdrawal of royal patronage from the public sphere that was the Saiddhāntikas' special territory, together with the widespread destruction of Śaiva temples and Maṭhas that occurred during the darker periods of Islamic rule. How quickly the tradition declined and disappeared is not clear, since we have so little evidence of the state of religion in the valley between the fourteenth century and the incorporation of Kashmir into the Mughal empire. But in the seventeenth century Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha commenting on a reference to meditation on Śiva, to his Maṇḍala, and to initiation by the fourteenth-century Kashmirian poet Jagaddhara in a hymn to Śiva takes these without hesitation to be the visualization of Svachchandaḥairava, the Maṇḍala of the same, and the initiation taught in the *Svacchanda*, even though nothing in the hymn indicates this specific tradition.⁶⁷⁰

As for the Śākta Śaiva systems, the Trika gives the impression of having been less deeply established in Kashmir than the Kālīkula. Abhinavagupta tells us that his was the first attempt to write a Paddhati on this system. There are no works of substance on the Trika by any other author and no later manuals for practical use in ritual survive to show that it had succeeded in integrating itself into the ordinary religious life of the community. We might cite the existence of Jayaratha's thirteenth-century commentary on the *Tantrāloka* as evidence that the tradition did flourish long after Abhinavagupta's passing; but the inference would be inconclusive. The intellectual brilliance of the *Tantrāloka*, its

⁶⁷⁰Ratnakaṇṭha on Jagaddhara, *Stutikusumāñjali* 37.11.

relevance as a key to the Śaiva religion as a whole, and its undeniable influence on the thinking of the Kashmirian Śaivas concerning broader soteriological and philosophical fundamentals might well have been sufficient reasons to attract this secondary exegesis even if the Trika in the narrow sense of a system of rituals had few followers in Jayaratha's day. Even Jayaratha, I have suggested, may not have been among them. That it had some followers, albeit of a form of the Trika assimilated to the Kālīkula, we know from the testimony of Jayaratha himself. For he reports that there were Gurus in Kashmir who followed a system of worship that combined the Trika of the *Devīyāmala* with the Kālīkula of the *Mādhavakula*.⁶⁷¹ So here we have evidence that the Trika had survived in Kashmir in some form down to the thirteenth century, five centuries after our first evidence of it in the *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara.

In comparison with the Trika the Krama appears to have been much more widely developed in Kashmir. While we have only the works of a single if famous author for the Trika, here we have a plethora of writers from the middle of the ninth century onwards, producing works in both Sanskrit and Old Kashmiri, and exercising throughout the most creative period of Kashmirian Śaivism a profound influence not only on the Trika but also, through the works of Kṣemarāja, on the understanding of the *Svacchanda*, the *Netra*, and a broad range of Śaiva texts aimed at a wider audience. Influence in the reverse direction from the Trika to the Krama is far less evident. Indeed of all the major works of the Krama discussed here only the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa* has absorbed the doctrines of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta to an appreciable extent. Other works, such as the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Arṇasiṃha, the Old Kashmiri *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Śitikaṇṭha, its commentary, and the literature on the higher Krama of the oral instructions, to which I have drawn attention in this study, show an autonomous tradition largely untouched by the thought and distinctive terminology of those better known authors.⁶⁷²

The distinctness of the Krama is evident not only in the independence of its discourse but also in the character of its position in relation to the 'lower' Śaiva traditions. For there is nothing here of the ambition that drives the works of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja to embrace and subordinate the many-layered diversity of the systems of the Śaiva Mantramārga within a higher unity. The

⁶⁷¹ See above, footnote 81 on p. 260.

⁶⁷² The persistent term 'Kashmir Śaivism' or 'Kashmiri Śaivism' is therefore doubly misleading. Its current use is mistaken because it excludes the Siddhānta, but it also confuses by fostering the illusion that non-Saiddhāntika Śaivism was a single doctrinally unified whole.

Krama tradition remained aloof from this inclusivist tendency, and this independent stance is reflected in its observances. For while Abhinavagupta's Trika rejected the tradition of radical Śaiva asceticism with its cremation-ground practices, making the rejection of such socially distinctive externals a fundamental principle of its universalism, the Krama, and indeed the Kālīkula as a whole, continued to maintain its distance from mundane society. For, as we have seen, some of its Gurus were ascetics who had adopted the Kāpālīka observance, decking themselves with ornaments of human bone, carrying a human skull as a begging bowl, and living in the cremation ground.

In the course of the eleventh century the Śākta Śaiva cult of Tripurasundarī was introduced into the valley and integrated into the exegetical tradition of the Trika. How quickly and widely it was adopted is unclear, since we have so little evidence from the three centuries after Jayaratha. But thereafter, as we have seen, Bhaṭṭāraka, the author of the *Spandapradīpikā*, Bhaṭṭāraka Ānanda, the author of the *Vijñānakaumudī*, if he is not identical with the preceding, and the Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya who wrote the *Gāyatrīmantravivaraṇa* and *Śrīvidyāmantravivaraṇa* were all initiates engaged in this form of ritual. Moreover, Tripurasundarī is prominent among the goddesses whose worship is included in the *Svacchanda*-based Paddhatis; her cult provides the framework for the conceptualization of the cults of the local goddesses seen in the Kashmirian Māhātmya texts;⁶⁷³ and the literature of her cult, comprising Paddhatis and Stotras, much of it non-Kashmiran, is very well represented in the body of surviving Kashmirian manuscripts, though this must be in part if not largely the effect of the arrival in Kashmir of East Indian Śāktism with the Maithila Kauls. It is at least probable that just as the cult of Svachchandabhairava came to monopolize the domain of non-Śākta Śaiva ritual in Kashmir, so this tradition of the worship of Tripurasundarī (Śrīvidyā), which has enjoyed great popularity throughout the subcontinent down to modern times, came to dominate the Śākta, and that the Trika and Krama survived as textual resources of exegetical and spiritual inspiration, in the manner of the Pratyabhijñā, rather than as living traditions of ritual practice. The demise of the Trika in this sense is strongly indicated by the commentary on the *Parātrīśikā* composed by Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma (Lasakāka) around the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is unlikely that if this ritual tradition had still been active he could have written a work that assimilates the text to the cult of Svachchandabhairava. Cer-

⁶⁷³See, for example, the *Śārikāpariccheda*, which assimilates the goddess Śārikā of Hārāparbuth to Tripurasundarī, and the *Rājñīprādurbhāva*, which does the same for the Rājñī of Tulāmul.

tainly, when I studied the Kashmirian Śaiva literature in Kashmir from 1972 to 1977 as a pupil of the Śaiva Guru Swami Lakshman Joo Raina (1907–1991) I encountered no sign that any practical knowledge of the ritual aspects of the Trika or the Krama had reached the present. Even the worship of Svachchanda-bhairava and Amṛteśvarabhairava had died out. I was informed that the tradition of receiving Śaiva initiation following the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, which was still alive when Georg BÜHLER visited Kashmir a hundred years earlier,⁶⁷⁴ had been neglected for about fifty years, and I heard the same concerning the Śaiva post-mortuary rituals.

What did survive was a purely gnostic Trika which lacked ritual practice (other than that of the common brahmanical tradition), which had subsumed into a homogenized whole without remainder the literatures of the other non-Saiddhāntika systems. This, however, was not a twentieth-century development, for, as I have argued elsewhere, we find it already in the model of the religious life advocated by the *Mṛtitattvānusmaraṇa*, an unpublished Kashmirian treatise composed at some time after the fifteenth century and before the nineteenth, which is likely to reflect general belief in the Kashmirian brahmin community of its time.⁶⁷⁵ It is to be hoped that further research into unpublished Kashmirian materials of the post-classical period will clarify further the history of this separation of gnosis from ritual, a development that can be seen as a sign of Śaivism's assimilation to the dominant brahmanical model of the religious life with its duality of doing without knowing and knowing without doing.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
BLO	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cod.	The reading of the manuscript
conj.	My conjectural emendation
corr.	My correction
Ed.	The reading of the edition
em.	My emendation

⁶⁷⁴BÜHLER 1877, pp. 23–24.

⁶⁷⁵The significance of this text for the early development of the purely gnostic Trika has been considered in SANDERSON forthcoming *a*, which provides an edition of the relevant passage on the three forms of the religious life: the way of ritual (Smārta brahmanical), the way of meditation (*kunḍalinīyogaḥ*), and, for those who have transcended rites, the way of knowledge (the Trika).

qu.	Quotation
SBB-PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz
SOASL	School of Oriental and African Studies, London
SUBG	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Aṃśumadāgama: IFP transcript 3.

Agnikāryapaddhati: A = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms Sanscrit 505 C; paper; Śāradā; B = SUBG Mu. 1, 134; paper; Śāradā.

Annapūrapūjāpaddhati. BORI 252 of 1883–84, Pt. 3; paper; Śāradā. See also CHANDRA 1984.

**Amṛteśvaradhyānavivarāṇa* of Lasa Kāka [Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma]. SBB-PK Hs or 11664, f. [91]v1–17; paper; Śāradā script.

Aṣṭikā of Prabodhanātha. *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* (q.v.), ff. 96v1–97v4.

Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati. IFP transcript 55; paper; Devanāgarī transcript.

Īśvarapratyabhijñākaumudī of Bhaṭṭāraka Sundara. Research and Publication Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar, Sanskrit 1089; paper; Śāradā script. [Not yet accessed and read].

Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinīvyākhyā, anonymous. Trivandrum ms 270 (*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvyākhyāvyākhyā*); paper; Devanāgarī transcript.

Uttaragharāmnāya. = *Ciñcīnīmatasārasamuccaya* (q.v.), ff. 20r8–24v3 (7.155–245). This contains the *Kālikākramaslokadvādaśikā* and the *Kālikākramapañcāśikā* (referred to together as the *Kālikākramapaddhati* [7.242]).

Uttarāmnāyayajñakrama. NGMPP E447/13; paper *thyāsaphū*; Newari script; place of deposit: “Acyuta (owner), Kathmandu”.

Ūrmikaulārṇava. NAK 5-5207; incomplete; paper; Newari script.

Kalādīkṣāpaddhati of Manodadatta, extended by Śivasvāmin. A = BORI 157 of 1886–92; paper; Śāradā script. B = BORI 1147 of 1886–92; paper; Śāradā script.

Kālikākulapañcaśataka. NAK 5-358, NGMPP B30/26; palm-leaf; Newari script; no date of copying. This is a composite codex in a single hand, comprising the *Kālikūlapañcaśataka*, the *Khacakrapañcakastotra* (q.v.), the *Kālikāstotra* of Jñānanetra (q.v.), the *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā* of Cakrabhānu (q.v.), the *Aṣṭikā* of Prabodhanātha (q.v.), the anonymous *Kramavilāsastotra* (q.v.), and the *Mahānayaṇaparakāśa* of Arṇasimha (q.v.).

Kālikākrama. = *Manthānabhairava, Siddhakhaṇḍa* (q.v.), ff. 179r5–186v3.

Kālikākramapañcāśikā. = *Ciñciñīmatasārasamuccaya* (q.v.), ff. 21v1–24r3 (7.180c–241).

Kālikākramaślokadvādaśikā. = *Ciñciñīmatasārasamuccaya* (q.v.), ff. 20r8–21v1 (7.155–180b).

Kālikāstotra of Jñānanetra. *Kālikākulapañcaśataka*, ff. 90v1–92v4. No title in the colophon (*ḳṛtir iyaṃ śrījñānanetrapādānām iti*).

Kālikulakramasadbhāva. NAK 1-76, NGMPP A203/23; paper; Newari script; incomplete (up to 7.2); probably penned in the seventeenth-century.

Kālikulakramārcana of Vimalaprabodha. NAK 5-5188, NGMPP A148/10; paper; Newari script; probably penned in the seventeenth-century.

Kālikulapañcaśataka. **A** = Kathmandu, Kaiser Library, 524 (*'Kālikākushe'*), NGMPP c49/3; palm-leaf; early East Indian script; penned in [Lakṣmaṇasena] Saṃvat 122 [= a year between A.D. 1230 and 1242]. **B** = NAK 1-252 (*'Kālikulakramārcana'*); paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1644/5.

Kālottara. NAK 5-4632, NGMPP B118/7; paper; Devanāgarī. A modern Nepalese transcript containing an unattributed account of the Śaiva canon followed by various recensions of the *Kālottara*.

Kiraṇa. NAK 5-893, NGMPP A40/23 (= *Kiraṇatantra*, *Kiraṇāgama*); palm-leaf; Licchavi script; incomplete; penned in A.D. 924.

Kulapañcāśikā. NAK 1-1076. NGMPP A40/13. Palm-leaf; Nepalese Kuṭila script; penned c. A.D. 1100–1200.

Kaulasūtra of Guru Bhaṭṭaśrī-Śitikaṇṭha. BORI 445 of 1875–76; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī.

Kramavilāsastotra, anonymous. *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* (q.v.), ff. 98v1–102v1.

Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī of Somaśambhu. **A** = NAK 1-772, NGMPP B26/1; palm-leaf; early East Indian script; A.D. 1149. **B** = Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1406; palm-leaf; Newari script.

Kriyākālaguṇottara. NAK 3-392, NGMPP B25/3; palm-leaf; Nepalese Nandināgarī/Pāla script; penned in A.D. 1184/5.

Kriyāsaṃgrahapaddhati of Vāladhārin. Kathmandu, Kaiser Library 63, NGMPP c5/3; palm-leaf; Nepalese Bhujimol script; penned in A.D. 1090/1.

Khacakrapaṇcakastotra. **A** = *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* (q.v.), ff. 72v1–89v4. The NGMPP microfilm lacks f. 73. For that I have used NAK 5-5183, NGMPP A150/6 (*Kālikākulapañcaśataka*) (**B**), ff. 1v1–6v1; paper; Devanāgarī.

Gāyatrīmantravivarāṇa. of Śivarāmasvāmin/Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya. SUBG Mu I 30, ff. 16r[= 23a]8–24v[31b]12; paper; Śāradā script.

Gurupustikā. BHU c 4115; paper; Śāradā script. [Not yet accessed and read].

Gurubhaktistotra of Cidrūpa Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. 290v[511b]1–292r[513a]4; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand and format as the *Śrividyanityapūjāpaddhati* of A.D. [18]35/6.

Gurustuti of Cidrūpa Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. 292r[513b]4–297v[518b]3; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand and format as the *Śrividyanityapūjāpaddhati* of A.D. [18]35/6.

Gurustutiratnamālā of Govinda Kaul. SBB-PK Hs or 11126; paper; Śāradā script.

Gurustotra of Jyotiṣprakāśa Kaul. SBB-PK Hs or 12509, ff. [125]r–[129]r; paper; Śāradā script.

Gurustotraprakāśikā of Govinda Kaul. SBB-PK Hs or 11126; paper; Śāradā script.

Guhyasamayāsādhanaṁālā. BLO Sansk. c. 15 (R); palm-leaf; Nepalese Kuṭila script; probably penned in the 12th or 13th century.

Guhyasiddhi. NAK 1-163 NGMPP A150/39, ff. 1v1–26r8; paper; Newari script.

Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya. NAK 1-767, NGMPP B157/19; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1754.

Cittasamtoṣatrimṣikā. SOASL 44390 ('Śaiva Hymns'), ff. 41v1–49r7; paper; Śāradā script; penned in A.D. [18]60/61.

Chummāsamketaparakāśa of Niṣkriyānandanātha. SBB-PK Hs or 11387 ('*Triṁśaccarcārahasya*'); paper; Śāradā script; incomplete.

Jayadrathayāmala, *Ṣaṭka* 1. NAK 5-4650, NGMPP B122/7; paper; Devanāgarī script; penned in Vikrama 1982 from an old palm-leaf manuscript (*prācīnatāḍapatrapustakāt*) for the library of Rājaguru Hemarāja Śākya (f. 214v5).

Jayadrathayāmala, *Ṣaṭka* 2. NAK 5-4650, NGMPP A153/2; paper; Devanāgarī script; penned in Vikrama 1982 from an old palm-leaf manuscript (*prācīnatāḍapatrapustakāt*) for the library of Rājaguru Hemarāja Śākya (f. 132v4–5).

Jayadrathayāmala, *Ṣaṭka* 3. NAK 5-1975, NGMPP A152/9; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1686/7.

Jayadrathayāmala, *Ṣaṭka* 4. NAK 1.1468, NGMPP B122/4; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1626/7.

Jayadrathayāmalapraṣṭāraṁmantrasaṁgraha. **A** = ff. 3v3–64r5 of NAK 1-258, NGMPP A152/8 ('*Jayadrathayāmala*'); paper; Newari script; A.D. 1642/3. **B** = ff. 4r1–64r1 of NAK 1-1514, NGMPP reel number not recorded; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1584/4.

Jñānakriyādvayaśataka, probably of Sillaṇa. **A** = SOASL 44390 ('Śaiva Hymns'), ff. 1v1–

18r7; paper; Śāradā script. The *Cittasamṛtoṣatrimśikā* of Nāga, the last of the series of philosophical hymns in this composite codex and written in the same hand reports that it was penned in A.D. [18]60/61. This is the second manuscript in the codex. **B** = SBB-PK Hs or 12833, ff. 1[75]r–11[86]v; paper; Śāradā script.

Jñānarātnāvalī. IFP transcript 231; paper; a Devanāgarī transcript of a Grantha palm-leaf manuscript, r. 14898.

Tattvatrayanirṇayavivṛti of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha. Lucknow, Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, 2390; paper; Śāradā script.

Tantrarājatantrāvatārstotra of Ācārya Viśvāvarta. **A** = ff. 1v1–3v1 of NAK 1-258, NGMPP A152/8 ('*Jayadrathayāmala*'); paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1642/3. **B** = ff. 1v1–3v7 of NAK 1-154, NGMPP reel number not recorded; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1584.

Timirodghāṭana. NAK 5-690, NGMPP A35/3; palm-leaf; late Licchavi script; incomplete.

Tridaśaḍāmara. **A** = ASB G 9999 (*tridaśaḍāmara pratyāṅgirāvidhānam*); palm-leaf; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1189. **B** = *Tridaśaḍāmarā<di>pratyāṅgirāviśayakanānāntantra* (q.v.), ff. 1v1–12r2. According to the colophons this consists of *Paṭala* 81 and 82 of the *Tridaśaḍāmaramahātanta*, constituting the *Pratyāṅgirākālpa* (B, f. 6v3–4: *iti śrī-tridaśaḍāmaramahātanta catuṣtriṃśatisāhasre śrīpratyāṅgirotpattimantrodhāravidhi<r>ekāśītitaṃ paṭalaḥ*; and B, f. 12r1–2: *iti śrītridaśaḍāmaramahātanta catuṣtriṃśatisāhasre śrīpratyāṅgirāvidhi<r>dvyaśītitaṃ paṭala<h> pratyāṅgirākālpaṃ samāptam*).

Tridaśaḍāmarā<di>pratyāṅgirāviśayakanānāntantra. NAK 3-30, NGMPP B173/22; paper; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1618/9

Tripurasundarīstotra of Śivānanda (= *Saubhāgyabrdayastotra*, q.v. in the general bibliography). BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. [504]r4–[505]v7.

Tripurasundarīstotra of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭāraka. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 ('Tantric Collectanea'), ff. 326v[547b]1–328v[549b]5; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand and format as the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* (A.D. [18]35/6).

Devīdevyārdhaśatikā. NAK 1-242. NGMPP A161.12; paper; Newari script; probably penned in the 17th century; descendant of a manuscript in the library of Vimalaprabodha, Rājaguru of the Nepalese king Arimalla (r. 1200–1216) (post-colophon, f. 19r5: *paramahamṣaparivṛājaka-uttarānvayācāryaśrīmadvimalaprabodha-pādānām iti*).

Devīyāmata. NAK 1-279, NGMPP A41/15 ('*Niśvāsākhya mahātanta*'); palm-leaf; Nepalese Licchavi script.

Dvayasampattivārtika of Vāmanadatta, son of Harṣadatta. **A** = *Mālinīśloka vārtika* (q.v.), folio sides 552 [8r11] to 553 [8v]; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī script. **B** = BHU c4256, ff. 6r–7v; paper; Śāradā.

Nandikṣetrāvātārā attributed to the *Ādipurāṇa*. BLO Stein Or. c. 4; paper; Śāradā script.

Nijātmabodha of Sāhib Kaul. SOASL 44389; paper; Śāradā script.

Nityākaula. NAK 2-226, NGMPP B26/21; palm-leaf; Newari script; right side damaged; incomplete (–6.28).

Nityādisaṃgrahapaddhati of Rājānaka Takṣakavarta. BORI 76 of 1875–76 (*‘Bhr̥ṅgeśasaṃhitā’*); paper; Śāradā script.

Niśisaṃcāra. NAK 1-1606; palm-leaf; Nepalese Kuṭila script; probably before 1100 A.D.

**Niṣkalasvacchandadhyānavivaraṇa* of Lasa Kāka [Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma]. SBB-PK Hs or 11664, ff. [91]r1-[91]v3; paper; Śāradā script.

Paramārcanatrīṃśikā. SOASL 44390 (*‘Śaiva Hymns’*), ff. 34v3–41r5; paper; Śāradā script; penned in Saṃvat 36 (A.D. [18]60/61 according to the colophon at the end of the *Cittasaṃtoṣatrīṃśikā* (q.v.), which follows in the same hand in this codex.

Picumata. (*Brahmayāmala*). NAK 3-370, NGMPP A42/6; palm-leaf; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1052.

Piṅgalāmata. NAK 3–376, NGMPP A42/2; palm-leaf; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1173/4.

Prāyaścittasamuccaya of Hṛdayaśiva. Cambridge University Library ms Add. 2833; palm-leaf; Newari script; penned in A.D. 1157/8.

Bahurūpagarbhaṣṭotraviṣaṃpadasaṃketa of Anantaśaktipāda. BHU C488; paper; Śāradā script.

Bodhaviḷāsa. = *Dvayasampattivārtika* (q.v.)

Bhagavadgītātattvaparakāśikā. of Lasa Kāka [Rājānaka Lakṣmīrāma]. SUBG Mu 1 22; paper; Śāradā script.

Bhāvacūdāmaṇi of Bhaṭṭa Vidyākāṇṭha. Jammu, Shri Raghunath Temple mss Library, 5291, now in the collection of the Ranbir Research Institute, Jammu; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī.

Bhuvanamālinīkalpaviṣaṃpadasavivṛti of Śrīvatsa. SBB-PK Hs or 12231; paper; Śāradā script.

Bhairaviśaktistotra of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭāraka. BLO Chandra Shum Shere c. 264 (*‘Tantric Collectanea’*), ff. 325r[546]r1–326r7[547a]; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand and format as the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* (A.D. [18]35/6).

Manthānabhairava, *Kumārikhaṇḍa*. NAK 5-4630, NGMPP A171/11; paper; Newari script.

Manthānabhairava, *Siddhakhaṇḍa*. Scans courtesy of Sam Fogg Rare Books & Manuscripts, London; palm-leaf; Nandināgarī/Pāla script; probably penned in the 12th century.

Mayasamgraha. NAK 1-1537, NGMPP A31/18; palm-leaf; Newari script; incomplete.

Mahākaravīrayāga. NAK 1-816, NGMPP B27/17; palm-leaf; Nandināgarī/Pāla script; penned in A.D. 1266.

Mahānayaprakāśa of Arṇasiṃha Kulācārya. *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* (q.v.), ff. 103v1–130r5.

Mahānayaprakāśa of Śitikaṇṭha in Old Kashmiri with Sanskrit commentary. NAK 1-252, NGMPP B135/41; paper; Devanāgarī.

Mālinīślokovārtika. Jammu, Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, 623 (20 ka 2). This is a composite codex containing many small works in addition to the *Mālinīślokovārtika*, each with its own folio numeration. See here *Dvayasampattivārtika*, *Śivāṣṭaka*, *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya A*, *Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya B*, and *Svabodhodayamañjarī*.

Mr̥gendrapaddhatīṭikā of Vaktraśambhu. IFP transcript 1021; paper; a Devanāgarī transcript of a Grantha palm-leaf manuscript, RE 4006.

Mohacūḍottara. NAK 5-1977, NGMPP A182/2; paper; Devanāgarī.

Yajñopavītaśikhāmālānirṇaya of Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya [II]. SBB-PK Hs or 11710; paper; Śāradā script.

Yonigahvara. ASB G 1000; palm-leaf; Newari script.

**Rājānakavaṃśaprasāmsā*. A = BLO Stein Or. e. 17; 19th century paper; text written on the rectos only; Devanāgarī script; marginal annotations in pencil by M.A. Stein; 'Notes on Ānanda's Prasāsti' handwritten by the same on ff. 13a–14b; on f. 1 in his hand: "Extracts from Ānanda Rājānaka's commentary on Naishadīyacharita and Śitikaṇṭha Rājānaka's Kāśikāvṛttinyāsaṭīkā. Copied from a paper (6" x 3") of Pandit Sunākāka Rāzdān, Habba Kadal, Śrīnagar" (signed M.A. Stein, Nishat Bagh, September 19–20, 1894)"; copied by Rājānaka Lakṣmaṇa in 1845. The second extract is in fact from Śitikaṇṭha's *Bālabodhinīnyāsa* (*Kātantravṛttinyāsaṭīkā*). B = BLO Stein Or. d. 62; copy of the same exemplar prepared by Paṇḍit Govind Kaul; paper; Śāradā script.

Rājñīprādurbbhāva. BLO Stein Or. d. 81; paper; Śāradā script.

Varuṇapaddhativṛtti of Bhaṭṭa Śivottama. IFP transcript 143; paper; a Devanāgarī transcript of a Grantha palm-leaf manuscript, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, R 14871.

**Viṣṇustuti* of Vāmanadatta, son of Devadatta, comprising six complete Prakaraṇas (*Samvitprakāśa*, *Ātmasaptati*, *Vikalpaviplava*, *Vidyāviveka*, *Varṇavicāra*, and *Paramārthaprakāśa*), and the beginning of a seventh. BHU C4003; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī script.

Śārikāpariccheda. BLO Stein Or. e. 2 (viii); paper; Śāradā script.

Śārikāstava of Sāhib Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere, e. 264, ff. 308r[529a]5–

310v[531]v5; paper; Śāradā script; in the same hand as the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* (A.D. [18]35/6).

Śivagopradānavidhi. BLO Stein Or. f. 12, ff. 1v1–26v11. On outer cover: *gopradānavidhiḥ śaivānām*. Colophons: *iti nandiśivadharmasamhitāyāṃ gopradānavidhiḥ* (f. 25r4–5); *iti śivagopradānam* (f. 26v9–10). penned in A.D. [18]86, probably 1886).

Śivarātripūjāpaddhati. SBB-PK, Hs or 11279. Birch-bark; Śāradā; disordered folios, each incomplete through damage; no folio numbers. Abbreviated title in margin of folio sides 6, 51, 59: *śivarāpū*.

Śivarātrirahasya. BLO Stein Or. e. 24, ff. 1r1–4r25; paper; Śāradā script.

Śivaśaktivilāsa of Sāhib Kaul. SUBG Codex Vish 5 (parts numbered 5–20), part 5; paper; Śāradā script.

Śivāṣṭaka of Yogarāja. *Mālinīślokaśrī* (q.v.), folio sides 241 [9r16] to 242 [9v12]; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī.

Śiṣyasamskārapaddhati. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sanscrit 505 C; paper; Śāradā script; acquired in 1898.

Śyāmāpaddhati of Sāhib Kaul. (1) Photocopy courtesy of Sam Fogg Rare Books & Manuscripts, London; paper; Devanāgarī script; probably from Jaipur. (2) SBB-PK Hs or 12439; paper; Devanāgarī script.

Śrīnāthastotra of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭāraka. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 (‘Tantric Collectanea’), ff. 288v[509b]1–290r[511a]7; paper; Śāradā script; same hand and format as *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* (A.D. [18]35/6).

Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā of Cakrabhānu. NAK 5-358, NGMPP B30/26 (*Kālikākulapañcaśataka*), ff. 93v1–95r4; palm-leaf; Newari script.

Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati of Sāhib Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere e. 264 (‘Tantric Collectanea’), ff. 1v[226b]1–156v[378b]5; paper; Śāradā script; A.D. [18]35/6.

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Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya (A), anonymous. *Mālinīślokaśrī* (q.v.), folio sides 538 [2r], l. 1 to 543 [4v], l. 18; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī. Follows the *Mālinīślokaśrī* and is followed by the *Taṇḍulastavarāja*.

Ṣaṭcakranirṇaya (B) of Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya [II]. *Mālinīślokaśrī* (q.v.), folio sides 378[1r]1 to 386[5r12]; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī.

Samvitprakāśa of Vāmanadatta. See **Viṣṇustuti*.

Saccidānandakandalī of Sāhib Kaul. BLO Stein Or. e. 26 (iii), ff. 32r[18a]5–44v4; paper; Śāradā.

Sadānandalāsyā of Sadānanda Kaul. SBB-PK Hs or 12509, ff. [121]v–[125]r.

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Svabodhodayamañjarī of Vāmanadatta, son of Harṣadatta. **A** = *Mālinīślokovārtika* (q.v.), folio sides 549 [6v7] to 552, [8r11]; paper; Kashmirian Devanāgarī script. **B** = BHU C4255, ff. 1v–5v; paper; Śāradā script.

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Hṛllekhāpaddhati of Sāhib Kaul. BLO Chandra Shum Shere g. 27; paper; Śāradā script; penned in A.D. [18]55.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- BORI Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
CNRS Centre National pour la Recherche Scientifique
EFEO Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient
IFI Institut français d'indologie
IFP Institut français de Pondichéry
KSTS Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
NAK National Archives of Kathmandu
NGMPP Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
PDI Publications du département d'indologie
PIFI Publications de l'Institut français d'Indologie

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